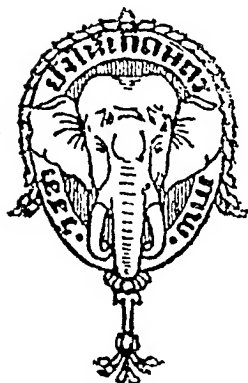




# THE SIAM SOCIETY



Selected Articles from  
The Siam Society' Journal

VOLUME III

Early History and Ayudhya Period

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## P R E F A C E

Following the publication of the two volumes commemorating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Siam Society, some scholars interested in the history of Siam pointed to the need for access to dependable source material in English. They expressed a wish that something should be done to deal with the relative dearth of such information. The matter was brought to the attention of the Council of the Siam Society. After due consideration the Council resolved to make available, in a separate volume, those articles bearing on Siamese history which appeared in the *Journal of the Siam Society* during the past fifty-three years.

To accomplish this objective a Special Committee was appointed by the President, His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh, charged with the task of selecting those articles deemed to be of most value to historians and others interested in Siam and its relations with her immediate neighbours as well as with more distant countries of the world. The Committee consisted of Dean Rong Syamananda, Mom Rajawongse Sumonajati Swasdikul, Phya Anuman Rajadhon, Mr. Kachorn Sukhabanij, Dr. Frank Williston, Mrs. Mary Sanford and Dr. Joseph S. Gould—Chairman.

Several meetings of the Committee were devoted to a careful examination of the index of articles in order to determine their value and priority for publication. However, in order to expedite the work (because not all members of the Committee were always readily available) Dean Rong Syamananda and the Chairman completed the task. They therefore take full responsibility for the choice of articles presented in this volume.

For the convenience of the reader the articles selected have been grouped into six sections, each of which will be published as a volume. The first volume contains articles on early history, including that of Ayuthia; the second, material on Lopburi, Bangkok, and Bhuket; the third and fourth cover the history of Siam's relations with Burma; the fifth, on Siam's relations with Portugal, Holland, and the Vatican; and the sixth, on her relations with France, England, and Denmark.

It is hoped that this modest publication will in a measure meet the requirements of the growing number of serious scholars interested in the history of Siam and its neighbours in Southeast Asia.

JOSEPH S. GOULD

A NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONS WHICH TOOK PLACE  
IN SIAM

In the year 1688.

AMSTERDAM  
PIERRE BRUNEL NEAR THE EXCHANGE

M. D. C. LXXXXI.

# SIAM IN 1688.

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## TRANSLATION OF AN EARLY NARRATIVE

By O. FRANKFURTER, Ph. D.

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The events which led to the overthrow of Phya Vijayen (Constance Faulcon) and the consequent departure of the French from Siam, in 1688, in the reign of Somdet Phra Narayana are somewhat obscure. Contemporary Siamese records have not been found, and it cannot be denied that the history which was compiled in 1795, and afterwards revised by Somdet Phra Paramanujit in 1840, treated the events as far as Constance Faulcon and the French Embassies were concerned more in the light of an interesting tale than as history.

The French records were all written from an individual standpoint; and it can be seen from these records that dissensions frequently arose amongst the French and that, for the most part, each pursued a policy for his own ends. The chief actors are best described as amateurs. This is especially the case with Constance Faulcon himself, who by nature clever, but uneducated and unscrupulous, became vain-glorious and overbearing in dealing with affairs of state which were beyond his grasp and control, and he brought upon himself the contempt and hatred of most Siamese without gaining the love or esteem of the foreigners. Phra Phetracha, sober and unscrupulous, placed himself at the head of the discontented party and thus at the death of Phra Narayana had no difficulty in regaining by vigorous measures that independence for Siam of which Faulcon and the French Missionaries and Envoys apparently had tried to deprive it.

The narrative of which I give a verbal translation in the following pages, and to which I have added a few notes to show, from Siamese sources, the personal status of the Siamese concerned, is said to have been written by Desfarges, who commanded the French troops in Bangkok.

The publisher's preface states how the MS. came into his hands, but we are justified in looking upon this statement with a certain suspicion. Whilst there is no doubt that the narrative is a true contemporary record, it was in all probability written by a Dutchman, attached to the Dutch factory in Ayuddhya, who had the greatest interest in preserving as far as possible the monopoly of the trade which would have been seriously interfered with if the French had succeeded in establishing themselves in Ayuddhya and gained a paramount influence there. He would thus try to make the acts of Phra Phetracha appear in as favourable a light as possible. A Dutch translation of the report appeared in 1692, and we have to look upon this as most likely the original.\*

That Desfarges could not have been the author is made clear from the facts recorded by Lanier, who states in his *Etude historique sur les Relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam*, page 174 :—

"Some weeks later (*i.e.*, after December 5th, 1689) Desfarges (who had retired from Bhuket to Bengal) received from the Court of France his letters of recall. L'Oriflamme was starting for Europe convoying two vessels of the India Company, the *Loure* (? *Loire*) and *Saint Nicolas*, with rich merchandize. The officers and two hundred soldiers embarked on these with their commander in the month of March, 1690. The passage was wretched, illness broke out amongst the passengers, and *Desfarges and his sons*, the Captain de Lestritte, de la Salle and half of the crew succumbed."

I have given as an appendix a translation of a letter

\* *Aanmerklijk en Naaukenrig Verhaal der Staats-Omkeringen, Nu Laast in't Jaar 1688, in Siam voorgefallen. Bevatende de geledene smaadheden in, en't uyt-drijven der Franssen uit dat Rijk. Uit het Handschrift van den Oppergesaghebbor der Franse aldaar. Door A. v. H. in't Nederduits vertaald. Tot Leiden Bij Frederik Haaring, 1692.*

said to have been written by an officer of the French garrison to one of his friends regarding the state of religion in Siam. The letter is a proof that even at that day persons drew largely on their imagination when a political purpose had to be served. The writer speaks in the introduction about several letters written which had also been replied to. Now considering that Laloubère, in whose suite the officer must have travelled, arrived in Siam on September 27th, 1687, and left again on February 3rd, 1688, and that the French occupation of Bangkok ceased about September, 1688, it is difficult to understand how letters could have been received and answered.

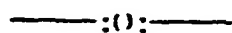


## ADVERTIZEMENT OF THE PUBLISHER

After so many accounts which have appeared about what has happened in Siam, I have thought it would be agreeable to the public, to communicate the one which has fallen into my hands, and which contains many remarkable details. I hope that it will be the better received as no report is at hand on the part of the French to show what induced them to retreat from the Kingdom of Siam: and the impatience which is felt regarding it, cannot be better satisfied than by an account published by the General commanding the French troops, who himself gives an account of the proceedings in which he took a conspicuous part. There is no necessity of explaining how this Manuscript has fallen into my hands. It is sufficient to say that I reproduce it just as I have received it, with exception of some clerical errors which have been corrected: and I have no doubt that the judicious reader will readily be assured of its correctness from the original features which he will find in this work.



A NARRATIVE OF THE REVOLUTIONS  
which took place  
IN  
SIAM  
in the year 1688.



People will no doubt be surprised to hear of the strange Revolutions which have taken place in the Kingdom of Siam, and to learn that the Frenchmen have left it a year after their arrival, notwithstanding the promises given by the Court regarding the stability and safety of their establishment.

Experience has clearly shown us, that it was not possible to depend on the goodwill of a King, whom a mortal illness was bringing to the grave; nor on the good intentions of his successor, who was very unstable; nor on the precarious fortune of *Sieur Constance*, who moreover had not all the credit and authority which he was believed to have; nor yet on the good disposition, respect and love of the people towards the French. Indeed have we not seen them, on the contrary, full of hatred and fury in order to ruin us? I thought it my duty to write an account of what has happened myself, as no one better than myself could know why I adopted the course I have taken; and it was not feasible to communicate it to many people, who however will not abstain from writing what they think about it.

One will find, as this narrative proceeds, crowns overthrown, two Princes<sup>1</sup> and an adopted son of the King<sup>2</sup> assassinated, the loss of the house and the life of *Sieur Constance*,<sup>3</sup> several great Mandarins in chains, a Siamese cleverly mounting the throne, finally the whole Kingdom with a great number of foreigners taking up arms against us to kill us by open force, after having tried in vain to do so by all

sorts of tricks. One will see, moreover, in the midst of all these strange revolutions the name of our great King feared even in this furthest corner of the world; and a handful of Frenchmen nearly without supplies, without ammunition, and without means of getting either, in a wretched place badly fortified, in the midst of the mad, of nearly continuous rains, and of numberless other hardships, resisting a whole Kingdom, which had shut them in, and which was finally compelled after a siege of five months, in spite of the resolution taken to destroy them, and in spite of the help rendered by foreign nations, who had come for the same purpose, to submit to the necessity of supplying them with ships and provisions to enable them to retire.

But above all it is necessary to make known the state, in which the Court of Siam was when I arrived, in order that the changes which have taken place may be more easily understood.

The King of Siam seemed to me always to have been full of consideration for our August Monarch, whose heroic actions delighted him in the accounts which were given to him. This Prince surely showed in his face the signs of greatness, and of a distinguished mind; he naturally appreciated foreigners more than his own subjects, whom he ever treated with a little cruelty; and this made him more feared than loved in his Kingdom. Although he was only 54 years old, he was nevertheless attacked by an illness, to which it could easily be seen he would succumb.

Two Princes, his brothers, were those who according to the customs of the Kingdom had to succeed to the throne, as the King had no son. The eldest one was deprived of the use of all his limbs; the younger feigned deafness, in order not to expose himself to the loss of his life, on the first suspicion which the King could have against him. They were both perfectly united; the elder voluntarily ceded the whole Kingdom to his younger brother owing to his infirmities; but neither of them was in the good graces of the King: they did not take part in any affairs, and they saw scarcely any one but their own servants.



his son, the most considerable offices and dignities, to which the King wished to raise him. He enjoyed in spite of that not less consideration. He was always of the first of the Council, and had more easily access to and more credit at the Court than the *Sieur Constance*, who was believed to be all powerful, and who on his part always tried to persuade us thereof, in lowering as far as he could the authority of all others so that he alone should be esteemed and trusted.

Nevertheless, although he was in great favour with the King of Siam, because this Prince found him alone capable to treat with foreigners, by reason of the great knowledge he said he possessed of all their customs and of all Courts of Europe; there were a great many mandarins who held higher office and had a greater authority, to whom he had to make the "*Sombaie*" that is to render them on all occasions homage, and he could not, as they, enter into the Chamber of the King, unless he was called.

In truth this foreigner had a lively and wide spirit capable of many matters, and given to large enterprises. His conduct was very pleasant, if he wished it to be so; his conversation was very agreeable, and he knew how to show his value before the King, from whom he had got a considerable fortune, considering the resources of the country. It took time to get thoroughly acquainted with him; later on I found in him want of straight-forwardness, and sincerity, also an unmeasured ambition, and too great an aptitude to get offended and to prosecute those whom he believed looked down upon him. This attracted to him the hatred of all these people and of most of the foreigners.

This is in few words what appeared to me most remarkable at the Court of Siam, for the understanding of what follows.

With regard to the French, I had in Bangkok only about 200 soldiers with their officers. Monsieur de Bruan was at Mergui with three of our best companies: and after his departure I was obliged to hand over thirty-five of our best men, with three or four officers, to be placed on the

vessels of the King of Siam, sent in pursuit of some pirates according to an order transmitted on his part by *Sieur Constance*.

Of the small number left to me, there were still a number sick, and sickness diminished, their numbers day by day. And yet at the place in which we were, work on the fortifications had just been started, and these were so large that we wanted at least 1,200 men to guard them well. I had wished that no such great place had been taken, in order that we might be better under cover, and better in position to defend us against anything which might happen to us. I could not, however, persuade *Sieur Constance* to change his design, which he had formed before our arrival : however much I insisted on having workmen, and however much trouble I took myself, in spite of my age and the heat of the sun, to be always on the spot to see that the works were progressing, there remained to be finished, when matters became serious, two bastions, two curtains and one cavalier. I had furnished myself with 2,000 palisades which were of great use afterwards : but not a single one had been erected.

In the month of March the King was in worse health than usual, and nearly unable to attend to affairs. *Prapié* then tried to play a part and to gather together some people who were devoted to him. *Opra Petchrachas* on his part, who had taken measures long ago and who had in his hands the Mandarins, who kept the roll of the people, also secretly collected in the Pagoda in the neighbourhood of Louvo as many people as he could. It was not difficult for him to attach to himself nearly all the Kingdom, as far from making known his true design, he always asserted that he wished nothing more than to retire to some temple with the Talapouns to live there, he said, a solitary life : but he also insinuated to the people, that before doing so he would use all his mind and all his strength and even his life, if it were necessary, to place the Princes on the throne which belonged to them, and that he knew that *Prapié* and *Sieur Constance* intended to deprive them of it. To gain all hearts

he spread rumours throughout the Kingdom that the French had only come to destroy the Royal Race, their religion and their customs, in subjecting them to Prapié and to Sieur Constance who would become the second in the Kingdom if the thing succeeded. It was easy for him by these artifices to place all the great and small people in his party and to excite them strongly against us, as moreover the Princes, the true heirs of the Crown, regarded him always as a faithful subject, who was only actuated by the zeal he showed for them, and who regarded Prapié and Sieur Constance as their greatest enemies.

Sieur Constance, from whom a great deal of what occurred could not remain hidden, in spite of the good temper which the great Mandarins always showed to him to humour him, sent me in the middle of April an order on the part of the King of Siam, to proceed to Louvo with the best part of my troops. I started from Bangkok with seventy men and five officers, very much troubled about the rest of the garrison, which I was obliged to leave behind in such a small number. As soon as we arrived near Siam, through which place we had to pass in order to proceed to Louvo, all gates were closed and everything was in uproar as if their greatest enemies had arrived. I heard at once from the Bishop of Metellopolis, from the Abbé de Lionne and from Sieur Veret, the head of the French factory, that a public rumour was about that the King of Siam had died, that everything was in arms in Louvo and on the roads, that there was a rumour of arresting Sieur Constance, and that many things had happened to the greatest disadvantage of the French. There was news also. I heard, that a number of soldiers had gone down to Bangkok, with a view, it was said, to assassinate the French who were there.

On hearing this news, I did not deem it wise to continue on my way. I stopped, therefore, in the neighbourhood of Siam and I wrote at once to Sieur Constance about the said rumours, which were publicly spread stating that I thought it better for his welfare and for ours that he should himself come where I expected him, in order to offer our

services to the Princes, the true heirs of the Crown, who were both in the city of Siam, and that we should thereby dissipate the suspicions which people had against us.

But whether *Sieur Constance* did not believe the evil so great as it was, or whether he was no longer in a position to retire from Louvo, or whether he had an understanding with *Prapie* (as it is said that he was in agreement with him afterwards), he did not listen to my advice, and I returned, therefore, after his reply, at once to Bangkok, in order to try to keep the troops whom the King had done me the honour of entrusting to me.

The future has shown that I could not have acted otherwise unless I had taken a bad and unjust part and without the almost certain loss of everything French in the Kingdom. For it has been proved by enquiries I made of two Siamese Mandarins, whom we had in our hands, that at the time when *Sieur Constance* wanted us to come up, *Pitrachas* was entirely master of the Palace and had at his command more than 30,000 men both in Louvo and on the roads, not counting the forces of the Princes who were then joined with him against the other party, which evidently *Sieur Constance* wanted me to join, without venturing to declare it to me.

*Opra Petrachas*, seeing that we had returned to Bangkok, and that it was not easy to gain us over as long as we were not divided, tried every imaginable means to oblige the two Princes and the Princess to come to Louvo, in order to have them in his hands. It was of the utmost importance to him that these Princes and the French should not come together, and this made him try everything to have all of them well disposed towards him. It was impossible for him to go on into these matters as long as the Princes remained in the city of Siam, of which they were masters, and the French at Bangkok, since mutual help could easily be rendered, and would have been given on the first suspicion raised by him. Such suspicion, moreover, would at the same time have destroyed those which he raised against us. He therefore sent several mandarins and wrote several times to the Princes inviting them to proceed to Louvo, asserting that the King.

(who, it is true, was not yet dead, but was unable to act owing to the state to which his illness had reduced him), wanted to see them and place one of them on the throne during his life time; that it was of great consequence that they should not lose time but should proceed to Louvo to take there before the whole Court the oath of fidelity, in order not to let Prapié have an opportunity to advance his affairs to their prejudice; and that as a faithful subject, zealous for their service, he had put the things in such order that there was nothing to fear for them.

The Princes hesitated much to render themselves to these pressing prayers, not on account of any mistrust they had at that time of Pitrachas, but because they were entirely Masters of the City of Siam and they did not know how far they would be it in Louvo, where Prapié and Sieur Constance were, from whom they expected some regrettable incident. This made them much more eager to make their public entry in the Palace of Siam, in order to proclaim the young prince as King, and then to enjoin the mandarins who were at Louvo to come and recognize him. That was also much in accordance with the desire of the Princess, who was or should have been his wife. And certainly it has been shown afterwards that this was the only means they should have adopted: but they could not resist the urgent prayers made to them by a man whom they considered the most faithful, the most equitable and the most disinterested in the Kingdom.

The young prince then proceeded to Louvo together with the Princess. Opra Pitrachas had sent them a large and fine escort on the road: he received them with all marks of possible submission, made them the first Sombaie, and had it rendered to them by all great mandarins. It is said that only Prapié and Constance were not eager to render it, and that this latter having come sometimes afterwards, the Prince would not receive him.

It is quite probable that Pitrachas, seeing himself Master and sure of those who could aspire to the Crown, intended waiting for the death of the King, which was likely to take place soon, before taking any action. But having



received information that Prapié, who saw the bad state in which his affairs were, had called in some troops of armed men to brave his fate, which could only be fatal to him under the sovereignty of the princes who were incensed against him, this clever politician took at once this pretext, to make the princes and the great nobles agree to have him arrested, and thus get rid of him; and he asked for nothing better in order to show his pretended zeal than to take it upon himself. He lost no time, and although Prapié was then in the apartment of the King, which he scarcely ever left owing to the services which he rendered the King during his illness, Opra Pitrachas by some device cleverly attracted him to the door, and from there by violence, had him massacred on the spot without heeding the request, which the dying King made on his behalf, on whose mind it weighed heavily that one of the Kingdom whom he liked most was treated in such a way.

This first action of the tragedy having been completed Opra Pitrachas seized the opportunity of arresting Sieur Constance. He gave orders that nothing should be made known of what had passed in the Palace, and sent him word on the part of the King to proceed to the Palace. Sieur Constance who knew nothing of what had taken place, and who nevertheless feared that some regrettable incident might take place, asked three French officers who were at Louvo, amongst whom was my son the chevalier, to accompany him. As soon as he had entered the Palace Opra Pitrachas approached him with a number of armed men, of whom there were plenty at Court, took him by the arm, and in a harsh and contemptuous tone told him, that he arrested him for having conspired with Prapié against the Kingdom and misappropriated its funds. At the time he spoke to him, there were several people with drawn swords, ready to strike him at the first word of command of this mandarin. The French officers who expected nothing of that sort asked him what he wanted them to do for him; but he replied that they should not do anything, and even hand over their swords, for which they had been asked. Pitrachas had at that time enough presence of mind, to see that

it was important that the French should not know the bad will he bore against them. He commanded therefore that they should be taken to Thlée Poussonne,<sup>6</sup> which is a Royal Pleasure house, one league distant from Louvo where they should be taken care of: and he had them accompanied to that place by the Mandarin, who had been second Ambassador in France, in order to make them understand that they were treated in that way for their own safety, in order that the people being irritated against the foreigners and *Sieur Constance* might not commit any excesses against them, for which the Court would afterwards be sorry.

He hesitated not in making known at once the arrest he had made, and that everyone might know of it, he had *Sieur Constance* promenaded by his side on the Palace walls, followed by the "Painted arms" whom they employ, when they wish to arrest anyone. Then he had him sent back to be fettered with five iron chains, and securely guarded in the Palace itself, where he could not be seen by anyone nor have communications with any of his friends. He underwent torture in various manners, in which according to the common rumour, and the deposition of two mandarins he was compelled to admit that he had an understanding with *Prapié*, and that he had dissipated and sent out of the Kingdom large sums of money from the Royal Warehouses. Everything which he knew about the affairs of the foreigners was extorted from him: after that he was cut into pieces. His house was pillaged, his wife and nearly all his relations were tortured cruelly in different ways to extort from them knowledge about his goods. There remained then three Mandarins of that party: *Opra Pitrachas* did not want them to escape, and he gave such good orders that without striking a blow at them they were all three put in chains on the night following the arrest of *Mr. Constance*. One of them who was in Louvo had already prepared to escape: but he was stopped on the road, and the two others in their houses, without the least alarm being caused thereby.

After having succeeded in destroying this party, which enhanced his credit and authority through the skill by which

he had so easily accomplished it, he tried now to find means to destroy the French, whom he considered as the greatest obstacles against his intentions. He had not succeeded in making the elder one of the Princes come to Louvo, who appeared even to have become suspicious owing to the prayers and often repeated solicitations of the mandarin: this also did not please the second prince and the princess who could not fail to have their suspicions aroused: this compelled Pitrachs in order that this suspicions should not take root, which might be of prejudice for him, to cease writing more about it to the elder Prince, and to take moreover in the presence of the second prince and the mandarins an oath before an idol, which was brought before him: *that he recognized and would always recognize the princes as his true masters, and that he would only act in their service.* Thereby all suspicions against him were dispelled, and this put him in a position to act more than ever. Thus although the life of the second prince and the princess was in his hands, the prince who was still in Siam might give together with the French trouble, so that he did not venture to strike the blow: and that it was which determined him to make use of the hatred, which he himself had raised against us in the heart of the princes, of the mandarins and of the people, to incite them all to combine to our ruin: he made them understand that the Kingdom would not have peace unless we were destroyed. We were told that the Princess was the first to approve of this design, of which she has since then repented.

Before resorting to open force, which Pitrachas found a little difficult to do, he wanted to use his cunning and then to conquer us by his mind, as he said: and thus he always dissimulated before the French, what he had in his heart, in order that they might easier fall into the trap, which he set for them.

A day after the arrest of *Sieur Constance*, he had written to the Bishop of Metellopolis and to *Sieur Veret*, *that as a matter of fact, certain disturbances had taken place at Louvo, and that the King has had Sieur Constance*

*arrested for a crime which he had committed against the State: but that was all and His Majesty had commanded him to inform them that he had nothing against the French nor against the Christian religion, and that they should not trouble about anything.* Two or three days after that he wrote a second letter to the Bishop and the Abbey de Lionne, in case Monsieur de Metellopolis should be unwell. The Abbey de Lionne having gone up had heard with astonishment, that all Frenchmen, who were at Louvo had been arrested, and that all other Christians, Siamese Peguans Portuguese and others were very badly treated in the jails and that when the Siamese Mandarin who had been first Ambassador in France paid him a visit a few days after his arrival he expressed to him his astonishment and asked for reasons: this mandarin who was one of the most devoted partisans of Opra Pitrachas and who had been made Barcalon for the services he had rendered in all matters, attributed everything which was done against the Christians to the hatred of the population and assured him that he would release them all: but with regard to the French, they were only treated so on account of the consideration which the Court had for their persons, and that they should not be liable to be insulted. He released in fact on the spot all prisoners, and when soon afterwards the Abbé de Lionne went to the Palace, the great Mandarin received him very well in the middle of the magnificent Court: where other Mandarins were nearly all prostrated before him; but after many compliments, he declared that it was the intention of the King that I should proceed to Louvo: that in truth the King did not blame me for having returned to Siam, in consequence of the bad rumours which were current, that he also knew that since that time I could not have come on account of an illness, from which I had been suffering which had also induced him to send me his doctors to show his esteem and consideration he had for my person: but now that he knew that I was well that I should no longer delay to obey the orders of the King who sent me for that purpose the two Mandarins who had been Ambassadors in France<sup>7</sup> in order to honour me, and to show

to all the world how much he esteemed me, and how great a friend I was: adding afterwards that if I would not go up, I would give by my refusal a just suspicion of an enterprise against the State, and that regrettable incidents might happen: whilst everything would go well if I would proceed: that he believed that I would make no more difficulties and that he would whilst waiting for me always retain the Chevalier my son. The first ambassador added in another visit which he paid to the Abbé de Lionne, that the King has had arrested *Sieur Constance* for some crime, and also because he did not satisfy the foreigners, and that he had the intention of placing my eldest son in his place, and that for that reason it was necessary I should remain for some time with him in Louvo, in order to initiate him into the affairs, that this was one of the principal reasons why I was asked to come up.

But whatever means they adopted, it was evident that matters did not proceed smoothly and I admit that I hesitated very much what action I should take with regard to the propositions made to be by the Ambassadors who had been in France. I should have wished that they had been content with the refusal I made on behalf of my son for the offer which was made to him: but they insisted absolutely that I should come up and the Abbé de Lionne whom the Mandarin had compelled to accompany them, also urged me to do so in view of the state in which matters were. On the one hand I saw well the danger in which I placed myself in their hands; on the other hand I could not refuse to go up without breaking off everything and we were not at all in a position to sustain a siege being without provisions, without any fortifications in the Place, which was moreover open on all sides.

After having taken everything into consideration I thought it was both due to my honour and my duty to expose myself and my two children to all dangers: trying by this mark of confidence to remove all suspicions and to keep the troops, which appeared impossible by all other means. I found moreover that in thus exposing myself I had two

advantages: the first to show to the whole earth the good faith of the French, which might perhaps have been a little suspected by my refusal to go up: the second to gain always some time, in which to get provisions, prepare the guns, erect pallisades, and to put the place generally in a less dangerous position. I therefore summoned Monsieur de Verdesal who was in charge after me, and I gave him all necessary orders for the public good, adding in the presence of the officers, that I knew well the danger to which I exposed myself in going up: but also that in refusing to go up, the danger which would follow my refusal was both more general and more certain; that I recommended him to do his duty well in my absence, and that he should rather see me and my children hanged, if things would come to such a pass, than to surrender the place which I entrusted to him until my return.

Opra Pitrachas having learnt my intention, sent me a beautiful litter to be carried more comfortable, and other convenient vehicles for those who accompanied me. I met at the gate of Louvo a mandarin who saluted me on behalf of the King and invited me to go straight to the Palace. This appeared to be a bad omen and led me to believe that I was to be arrested. I passed through several courts filled with armed men, and was at first very well received by the Grand Mandarin, (this is how Pitrachas has had himself called at that time) in the hall, where he gave his audiences, but after some compliments about the honour which the King my master has bestowed on me on account of my merit, about the love of the Siamese, which he said I had entirely gained, he asked me in a conversational way, *if I was truly the Master of the officers and soldiers who were at Bangkok and whether any one dared to disobey me.* I answered him without knowing at what he was driving, that discipline on this point, was very exactly observed in the armies of the King my master, and that it was necessary that all should obey the very first word of a commander.

*Very well, he said, I am satisfied. The King has sent you orders to come up with your troops: why then have you come up alone with your son?* I was much a- ni- ed

at such a proposition, and more so when the first Ambassador, whom I believed would bear witness, that he left me at liberty to go up alone or with as many people as I chose, stated on the contrary that he had urged me to come up with my whole garrison. I knew then that it was a preconceived game and I had scarcely any hope to get out of this bad scrape. Very well, said the Mandarin: *it was a misunderstanding: it is only necessary that you write at once to all your officers and soldiers to join you.* You have assured me that not one would dare to disobey you. I answered without taking into consideration the danger in which I was, that if I would be in the Place, it would be done as I said: but that a Commander out of the place had according to our customs not the right to give any commands: and that before leaving it, I had asked the first Ambassador to inform me whether the king had any orders to give me, so that I might have them executed before my departure: and that certainly Mr. de Verdesal would not obey any of my orders unless I was present. The Abbé de Lionne who had accompanied me, and who saw the danger in which we were, approached the first Ambassador, and told him that everything was lost if I was retained: that Monsieur de Verdesal, was a man who would not listen to anything, and would carry things to the utmost. I believe that this had the effect of changing their minds: they believed it was more expedient to send me back, in keeping my two children as hostages, for the promise they had exacted from me, that I should bring up all troops with exception of the sick ones, imagining that I would not fail to do so, as they were the Masters of the life of my two children. They proposed then to me an fictitious war which they said they had with the Accas and that as I had come for the service of the King of Siam, they would give to all Frenchmen an opportunity of gaining glory, that they would join some of their troops, and that they would give to me as a very experienced man the command of the whole army: but in order to be in a better position to beat the enemies it was necessary to write to Monsieur de Bruan to join me with his troops at a place they would indicate.

It could easily be seen to what this would lead : but it was difficult to find means to avoid it. I had proposed to them, that if they had any suspicion against us, I would beg the King to give us ships to be able to retire from the Kingdom and thus to deprive them of all umbrage : but no other answer was vouchsafed to my proposition than that it was necessary to commence by calling up all troops, and that afterwards one might give us the boats we asked for; if we would not prefer to render previously against the enemies of the State, the services which the King had asked from us. Afterwards they sent me the draft of a letter which I ought to write to Mr. de Bruan, which had been drafted by Pitrachas himself in Siamese, which being translated word by word into French, would make nonsense, and this would show to Mr. de Bruan that I was arrested and that our affairs were in a bad state : and thus I was induced to accept and write it with all their Siamese manners, with which the great Mandarin was satisfied however clever he was, but he was not acquainted with our manners, and imagined that what he had written in a good Siamese style would also make good French.

I then heard at Louvo, to increase our trouble, a bad turn which the affair of our French who had been retained, had taken and who after the departure of Monsieur l'Abbé de Lionne and the Siamese Mandarins, being afraid that I would not proceed to Louvo, had decided to do their utmost to reach Bangkok. They took for that purpose horses at Louvo, went with all possible speed 5 or 6 leagues from that place, seized a boat, and some Siamese to row it, and overpowered three or four body guards, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Siam where they found themselves surrounded by nearly eight hundred men, who had come together to arrest them. Some mandarins approached them and gave them their word that nothing would be done to them, if they would give up their arms, and that the Great mandarin had only sent after them to bring them back to Louvo, not knowing the cause of their flight. This induced them not to defend themselves, seeing moreover that they would be defeated : but the Siamese seeing this, treated



them in the most ignoble and cruel way possible, stripping them putting ropes round their necks, and taking them back to Louvo, attached to the tails of their horses, which they frequently caused to run, without respect for my own son the Chevalier who was one of their number, beating them with sticks and partisans in order to compel those who had fallen down after such a treatment again rise : one of them died in this way on the road. They had them afterwards exposed at Louvo to a multitude of idlers for three hours : and these fellows spit in their faces, and did all imaginable outrages to them.

This story, of which I had heard somewhat vague rumours in coming up to Siam, made me judge about the very bad state of our affairs from this extreme hatred which animated their people against us. I did then my utmost to hasten my return to Bangkok, and was compelled to sacrifice my two children whom I was constrained to leave as hostages in order to proceed as the more quickly, where I believed my presence was more necessary for the honour of the King and the public weal.

I met on the road the Bishop of Metellopolis, whom the great mandarin had compelled to proceed to Louvo under the pretext that the King wanted to confer with him on important affairs. His intention was to get hold of the Bishop's person, in order to send him to Bangkok, some time after me, so that if, in spite of all the reasons which he had advanced, and the hostages whom I had left with him, I failed to decide as he wished he could threaten me with the lamentable consequences which would follow my refusal. For he told him already at the first audience quite distinctly, *that he believed, indeed, that I would come up with the troops: but that he intended sending him after me to explain, that if I did not come up he would attach to the cannons mouth himself, his Missionaries the Fathers and all Christians; but that on the contrary all would go well if I would come up.*

This precaution was nevertheless useless to him. We took our decision on Whitsunday, immediately after I had

landed and were exposed to the fire of the army, and six of them mounted on the fort, when after having killed six Siamese they retired owing to the number. Not a single Frenchman was left within the fort nor on shore ; two were killed in the boats, and two or three were wounded.

We then opened a heavy fire against this same fort, in order to prevent them from building a cavalier on which they were working, and which would have entirely uncovered the whole of our place. We had the pleasure of destroying several times all their works, which they were persistently erecting although they lost a great many people. The fire which was opened on our side did not prevent them either to load and to fire against us the guns which they had unspiked and those which they had got from Siam with the mortars and bombs, which we did not expect, and they did not cease to fire for three or four days : and thereby we stood in great fear for our magazines and other houses, which were only covered with leaves.

arrived in the fortress of Bangkok. Having explained the true state of affairs to all the officers, and the bad treatment which our people had undergone, as well as the other current rumours, we decided unanimously rather to die than to fall into the hands of these barbarians.

We took therefore all precautions to put ourselves in a defensive position, working at the gun-carriages, erecting palisades and putting guns at the places most necessary. I intended to send some one on board a Chinese vessel belonging to the King of Siam which was passing before the fortress, to see whether they had any provisions for sale : but having only received an outrageous and impertinent answer I ordered to fire at it some gunshots, which prevented the vessel from proceeding on its annual voyage.

On the evening of the same day I gave orders to abandon a fort, which was on the other side of the river, as it was impossible for us to keep it, and I commanded the officer who was in charge, to set aside what we were going to keep, all the ammunition which was there, and to demolish all the merlons of the embrasures, to explode all guns, and to spike those which would not explode. There were 18 pieces pretty well made which exploded, and the rest were spiked. There was a large 110 pounder which would not burst, although all pains had been taken. The Siamese, however, were not slow in unspiking them, having a particular aptitude for this work and they put them in position. We then burnt a village which was near to our fortifications, and seeing two or three days afterwards that the Siamese were working at the fort which we had abandoned and only seeing a very small number of them I sent a Captain, a Lieutenant and an ensign with thirty men in two boats to try to dislodge them and to see that the fort was so well destroyed, that they could not use it any longer. But scarcely had his detachment arrived in the middle of the river, when they found that this fort, and a large wall which joined it, were full of armed men. Our people would nevertheless not return without doing some damage although they saw that the chances were not equal. They

them without seeing them. They were, however, shown that our arms had more power than their charms. One died on the spot. The second one died in the ditch, and the third one was able to undeceive those who believed in those charms. We remained thus the first ten or twelve days without being able to have the slightest news of what occurred and in the belief that all Frenchmen had been attacked and perhaps also the other Christians, hoping only to defend us well and to prevent that we should fall alive into the hands of this cruel nation : for we could not receive help from outside, nor could we retire, nor could we get terms from the enemy.

and most of them died together with him. This generous action astonished this nation more than one can say, and spread very soon all over the Kingdom.

Opra Petrachas on his part, on the news he had received from the second Ambassador, as soon as he had arrived with me in Bangkok, that I had made difficulties about going up, did not fail to send Monsiear de Metellopolis as he had proposed. But this prelate only served in Bangkok as a victim to the ire of the Siamese, who being extremely irritated at the number of their people who were killed by our men, threw themselves upon him, robbed him of all he had in his boat, took away by force his episcopal cross and ring, put a rope round his neck and threatened to expose him to our guns.

Two or three days after my arrival at Bangkok I have written a letter to the great Mandarin, in which I informed him that all the Frenchmen had learnt the infamies to which those of their nation had been subjected, and of the rumours which were current, that they were to be taken out of the fortress in order to be killed, and that consequently they were not willing to come up, and that they were all resolved to defend their lives to the utmost, if they were brought to that : that what they had done, and what they did now, was only done to defend themselves, and that they were always willing to accept vessels, and to retire in peace if they were allowed to do so. After having received my letter and after the mandarins had informed him of our firm resolution, he tried a last remedy in making my children whom he had put in chains, just as the other officers in Louvo, to write a letter to me. He drafted that letter himself for them, which was as follows : *That there was no chance for their lives, if I would not go up according to my promise, and that he had shown them mercy in having postponed their punishment and in having allowed them to write to me about the danger in which they were*. I answered them : *"that I would willingly give my life to save theirs: but when it was question of the honour of the King and the preservation of his troops, there were no*

interests which had not to be sacrificed for them, that it must be sufficient for their consolation, not to have committed any crimes, and that the King knew how to avenge, when he thought fit, all outrages to which they were subjected.

Petrachas did not wait for this answer before changing his mind. The news which reached him constantly of the manner in which we behaved, made him despair of taking us in by any one of his cunning, and he evidently regretted that he had not arrested me when I was in his hands. He also saw by the works in which we were constantly engaged that it was not easy to take us by open force. He had to fear that if he would attack us, he would lose a great many Siamese, who would be thereby disgusted, and would turn against himself the fury which he had incensed against us. He thought therefore it was less venturesome for him, and that it was easier for him at that time to try to get rid of the Princes : for he had one in his hands, and he had already sent a great mandarin called Opra Polotep, who was devoted to him, with a thousand soldiers, under orders to raise another thousand in the city of Siam under the pretext that they were seditious people. He had already separated several mandarins who were devoted to the Prince who was in that town, in order to send them to Bangkok, and he had under various pretexts caused the chief Mandarins, whom he did not trust, to be arrested. Thus by his acuteness he had become the Master of the City and the Palace of Siam, and had brought the Prince to such a state, that he could not resist him.

He therefore had assembled the principal mandarins who were at Louvo complaining before them about the Princes, of what he said he had heard for certain, that as thanks for the good services he had rendered to them, they had resolved to get rid of him : and asking them about their views. I can well imagine that many of them saw at what he was driving : but his power was too great for any one to venture to take umbrage at it. He took care to entice the Chief persons, in making them hope for new office and dignities : he only put at the head of the troops

and command of the Chief place those whom he believed to be entirely devoted to him. All came therefore to the conclusion; that these princes were ungrateful, and that they had to be punished. He therefore issued at once orders to arrest the one who was at Siam, and to conduct him to Louvo; then he at once sent these two to a certain pagoda near Thléé Poussone, to have them killed by beating them with sandalwood, sown up in a scarlet bag according to the Custom of the Country to get rid of the Princes of the blood.

This is how this clever politician opened for himself without intermission the road to the throne, to which he aspired, although it cannot be denied that he had great luck in being able to execute 'so many persons, without exciting any trouble in the Kingdom. It cannot likewise be denied, that he acted in a very clever way and as a man of a great mind, in spite of what Sieur Constance said of him in talking to me, "that he was *an animal*, that he was not able to bring anything to a successful conclusion". He had played a very sure game, and in the way he had done it, if he could not have got the Crown without risking too much, he could have been satisfied with the second place in the Kingdom, which he could not have failed to get under the reign of the Princes.

The old King was still alive, when he got rid of them. He died the next day, after which Pitrachas gave the great offices to those who had served him, raised all mandarins whom he had to humour, and even set free all those whom he had made prisoners, in order to gain their good will by acts of clemency, he relieved the people from some of their servitudes and even gave them alms in public, and although he incurred little expense thereby it made him beloved and esteemed: with the result that not the slightest sedition or revolution arrived in the Kingdom of this occasion.

With regard to the Princess, he preferred to keep her to make her his wife, than to treat her in the same way as the Princes. He endeavoured to gain her good

graces; it was believed that he reserved her for his son, but he preferred to take her himself. It is said that this Princess was greatly grieved at the death of him who was or ought to have been her husband, and that in her anger she knew no bounds against the person who was responsible for it, and she regretted that she had acted against the French: but after all she preferred living as a Queen, to dying unfortunately. The public ceremony of the marriage had not taken place at the time of our departure: but there was no doubt that that would happen.

Petrachas has no sooner tried to get rid of the Princess than he thought of means to come to an understanding with us, and to allow us to leave the Kingdom in peace. He resolved for that purpose to send me my children, as a sign of the respect he had for me: he therefore had them brought before him and after first threatening them with death to try their firmness, he said: "that he felt pity for them, and that he moreover knew my straight-forwardness and that I was not capable of breaking my word: that the troops would not obey me owing to a panic: that he gave them their lives, and that he would out of consideration for me and out of friendship for them allow them to return to me."... He, however, did not make them any proposition for us.

They got the answer I had written to their letters, on the road, but it was nevertheless delivered to the Great Mandarin. They arrived at Bangkok on the day of St. John bringing great joy to the whole garrison, who believed they had died as well as all other Frenchmen who were in the hands of that nation. I had some troubles in understanding why the Great Mandarin should have acted in that way, but having learnt afterwards the arrest and the death of the Princes, I was inclined to believe that by this generous action he would open a road to make peace with us, and the two mandarins whom we questioned on that point confirmed me in my sentiments.

Since that time, fire ceased gradually from one side and the other. Different propositions for a settlement





measures to do what he had since executed. We also learnt from a Frenchman, who had been made prisoner at Mergui, that M. de Bruan and the French who were under his command had suffered attacks and that for want of water, and also because of the fort being commanded by a battery which the Siamese had erected, they had retired under the fire of the enemy and had taken possession of a boat of the King of Siam.

Some time afterwards we heard the news of the arrival of a vessel of the King named the *Oriflâme*, commanded by M. de l'Estrille, which remained some time in the roadstead. They were greatly troubled at not having received any news from us nor from the officers who had first gone up, and the Siamese, who know how to lie and cheat as no other nation in the world, cleverly sent them up to Siam, without passing our fortress and without telling them anything of what has happened.

If our affairs had not been on the point of being settled these officers and the boat would have run great risk, and the boat could not give us any assistance by the impossibility in which it found itself of coming up the river and of having the slightest communication with us. This shows how badly the place in which we were, was situated, and of how little advantage it was and that sooner or later we should have been obliged to abandon it.

In the meanwhile a new matter turned up, which might have broken off everything. The wife of *Sieur Constance*,<sup>\*</sup> after having been cruelly tortured to make her confess where all goods of her husband were, and after having suffered several other outrages on the part of these miserable "painted arms" to whom she had been confided, as well as on the part of the son of *Pitrachas* who is now called the prince, and who fell violently in love with her, had found means to escape and to proceed to Bangkok: this became known to the Mandarins and afterwards to the King, who declared to us, that no arrangement was possible unless she was surrendered. They feared that being out of the Kingdom, she would take hold of all of the goods

which her husband had acquired there, and they would be thus lost to them. Although I was very much troubled about this matter, which was done without my knowing about it, and which came at a very inopportune time (the Siamese retaining sailors (*sic*), cables, anchors and other things which were absolutely necessary for our leaving and which I had the greatest trouble to bring together), I thought nevertheless that I could not hand her over unless I provided for her safety: I tried even to obtain from the King permission that she might leave the country, but they would not listen to my proposition, and the war might have commenced once more, and been more cruel than ever. The *Sieur Veret*, whom I had sent to Siam to arrange our affairs, had been already arrested, and so were also all missionaries and a Jesuit father who remained. All relations of this widow whom the Siamese had arrested, were threatened with the most cruel punishments so that the Mother wrote to me and urged me to arrange this matter. This I did by a Treaty in which the King of Siam gave his word that he would grant her and her family in all liberty of conscience, that she might marry any one whom she chose, and that she was not to be violated by anyone: and on these conditions I handed her over.

Finally after all our affairs had been broken off and settled again, the Siamese agreed to let us have three vessels, provisions and everything that was necessary to us, and two great mandarins as hostages to conduct us out of the Kingdom: and we agreed not to do any harm to their place, to leave with flying colours, with our arms and baggage: and this we did on All Souls day. It was even then said that the Siamese would certainly attack us in leaving or in going down the river: we were thus constantly on our guard, but they did nothing. They played us a small trick after we had been on the roadstead by retaining some Siamese rowing boats (*Mirous*), in which there were some of our guns, which had sunk in low water near their fort. This made us retain their mandarins, who had to take us back and whom we made responsible for all our baggage.

It is nearly incredible how great were the works they

had been obliged to construct in acting against us. Besides the cavalier which they had erected at night time in spite of our guns, on the west fort, which was in their hands, they had also surrounded us with pallisades at a short distance from our cannon, and had further invested us with nine forts which they had mounted with guns, and which threatened us from behind in the whole place. They had moreover from Bangkok up to the mouth of the river erected several forts to prevent assistance coming from outside; there they had 140 pieces of guns which they had sent from Siam, and they had for that purpose opened a branch of the river, in order not to be compelled to pass before us. They had moreover with greatest trouble obstructed the bar, by which vessels could enter, with five or six rows of large and high trees planted at low tide and which were fixed so strongly that it was not possible to pass them; they had only left a small space through which to pass, which they could easily close with an iron chain, and keeping there always a large number of armed galleys to guard it. Surely one would not have thought that this people would have been able to do all this. It is true that all foreigners who were in the country had assisted them greatly against us. They had English and Portuguese on their boats as commanders and to guard the entrance of the river: Dutch to fire their bombs, and we were blockaded besides by the Siamese army and Peguans, Malays, Chinese and others, who had each their entrenched forts. In truth it would have been easy to prevent the construction of these forts, if we had had a sufficient quantity of powder, but we would have had only sufficient for eight days, if we had kept up firing day and night, which would have been necessary to prevent them from constructing their forts. And thus they were continually working at that even after my children had been sent back to me, and during the time they made propositions for a compromise; this made me very suspicious of them. I preferred reserving the powder and gaining time, to not being able after a couple of days to repel them if they attacked and it has been shown afterwards, that we could

anything else in the circumstances in which we were. It is in truth very doubtful and very uncertain whether their propositions were sincere, but it was more certain that it meant losing everything if we did not listen to their propositions: and thus I often said to the head officer that we would always be in time to strike the last stroke of despair, but that perhaps time might bring that which we could not hope to gain by all the efforts we would make. I also informed our enemies by letter which I wrote to them that if they did not act in good faith, and would not grant my demands, I would commence by exploding their forts, would burst all their guns at my disposal, that I would rush with my whole garrison at them, asking them in such a case as only grace not to give quarter to any Frenchmen as I would promise not to grant quarter to any of them who should fall into my hands. But I believed that it would only come to this last as a extremity and when there was no hope of a better compromise. Afterwards it has been clear that even if one does not see a remedy to get out of a bad affair, one must never despair, that one must rather trust that time may bring about some change. He who came after the death of the Princes commenced to put our affair in a better state; the state of mind in which we were and of which we informed them, and of which the Sieur de Crick had given them proofs, went far to intimidate them. But I must confess in finishing this report that the fear of the vengeance of our August Monarch whose power the Siamese Ambassador had witnessed contributed more than anything else to the advantageous conditions which they were compelled to grant to us.



EXPLANATORY REMARKS IN REGARD TO THE PERIOD OF SIAMESE  
HISTORY ANTECEDENT TO THE FOUNDING OF AYUDDHYĀ.

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The Royal Autograph version of the history of Siam begins with the founding of Ayuddhyā by King Phra Chao U Thong in the year of the tiger, Chula Era 712, Buddhist Era 1893. Before turning to this version, students of history will no doubt seek information as to the condition of Siam in the pre-Ayuddhyā period, as to who King Phra Chao U Thong was and as to the circumstances which led to his founding the city. Ancient writings contain many narratives bearing upon the period in question, as I have shewn in the chapter dealing with historical sources, and there are also various monuments of antiquity which, if considered in conjunction with the accounts furnished by neighbouring countries, serve to throw some light upon the early history of our land. I have therefore attempted, for the benefit of those who desire information, to collate and compile, in the form of a preface to the present work, the evidence offered by such narratives as refer to Siam in the times which preceded the founding of Ayuddhyā. But the work of collating ancient documents is a laborious one, since it is necessary to search for, to copy out and to make selection among narratives and authorities which are to be found in so many different places that it is difficult to examine them all. Moreover, the compositions of the old writers sometimes set forth occurrences of such an extraordinary nature as to be unworthy of credence at the present day; at other times, different accounts of the same events are so contradictory that the student must decide for himself as to which of them is correct. For this reason, the ensuing compilation contains much that is conjecture on my part, and, as conjecture is a process which may lead to error, the reader should exercise his own powers of discrimination when perusing the pages which follow.

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The territory of which Siam is now made up was originally occupied by people of two races, the Khmers (ᦅᦺᦑᦟ) and the Lāo. The domain of the Khmers comprised the low-lying land to the South, that is to say, the present Kingdom of Cambodia and a tract along the sea-coast which extended into the Southern valley of the Chao Phyā River\* and reached as far as Pegu. The domain of the Lāo was situated in the highlands to the North within the valley of the Mekhong River, beginning at the line of hills which forms the frontier of Cambodia. It thus comprised the present provincial circles of Nagor Rājasiṃhā, Ubol (Ubon), Roi Et and Utor (Udon), and it extended as far as the left bank of the Mekhong. The provincial circle of Bāyab (Payab)† in the valley of the River Chao Phyā was also included in the original domain occupied by the Lāo, the Southern limits of which appear to have joined the territory inhabited by the Khmers in the neighbourhood of Svargalok (Sawankalōk) and Raheng.

Who were the original Khmers and Lāo? To-day we only know that the peoples designated under the names of Khā, Khamu, Cambodians, Mons and Meng all speak languages which are of Khmer stock. We may conclude, therefore, that these peoples are descended from the Khmers. As for the original Lāo, they are to be identified in the people styled to-day Luā (ᦅᦺᦑᦟ) or Lawā (ᦅᦺᦑᦟ), who are still to be found among the forests and hills in almost all the provincial circles included in the old Lāo domain, and who speak a distinct language of their own. The name Luā or Lawā comes from the same word as the name Lāo, a

\*Generally known to Europeans as the River Menam. [Translator's Note.]

†Since the above was written, the former provincial circle of Bāyab has been divided up into two distinct circles, that of Bāyab on the West and of Mahārāshtra on the East. [Translator's Note.]

fact which enables us to identify them with the original Lāo people.\*

In this connection, I would observe that by Southern Siamese (Thai) the present inhabitants of the provincial circles of Bāyab, Utor, Roi Et and Ubol are generally considered to be Lāo and are termed such. It is true that the provincial circles mentioned were formerly occupied by Lāo, but the majority of the inhabitants to-day are Thai, and so regard themselves equally with us Siamese of the South.

With regard to the Thai race, it is now divided up into many branches which are styled under different names, as, for example, Thō, Thai, Phū Thai, Phuen, Chān, Chēng, Ngiu, Lū and Khōn. All these branches speak a Thai language and their traditions prove them to be Thai. The original home of the Thai was in what is now known as Southern China, in a region stretching from the Yangtse River through Szechuan and Yunnan down to the Lāo country. The whole of this region was once inhabited by the Thai. How then did it come about that the latter established themselves in Siam? In order to answer this question, I must first of all give some account of the Khmers.

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### THE KHMERS.

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For the investigation of Khmer history the study of no written documents or authorities is so useful as an examination of the ancient monuments erected by this people, such as the *celtiyas* and temples of stone which are still scattered over our country and the stone inscriptions and other objects which have been discovered in the course of excavation. These relics of the past should be studied and compared with similar relics existing in other countries, as well as with the historical narratives composed there; by this

The translator has been informed by another authority, however, that the word "Lāo" is of Thai origin and that it is still employed by at least one of the Thai-speaking tribes of South-Western China with the meaning of "person". [Translator's Note.]



means we may arrive at an approximate idea of Khmer civilisation as it once was.

I have already said that the domain of the Khmers comprised formerly the low-lying land to the South extending from Cambodia along the sea-coast to the valley of the Chao Phya River and thence as far as Pegu. Proof of this assertion is to be found in the fact that the original inhabitants of the region described spoke the same language. Even to-day the Malays everywhere make use of Khmer terms when addressing words of command in the employment of elephants. Additional proof is afforded by the many old buildings erected by the Khmers throughout the same region. There is one noticeable feature about these erections; in the Eastern portion of the valley of the River Chao Phya they consist generally of Brahmanic temples; in the Western portion, from the extremity of the Malay Peninsula up to Pegu, they consist as a rule of monasteries and *celiys* connected with the Buddhist religion. Further, the style of architecture in the case of all Khmer monuments found in this part of the world, both in the East and in the West, whether they be Brahmanic temples or Buddhist monasteries, betrays unmistakably an Indian origin. In the districts once occupied by the Lāo within the valley of the Mekhong River there exist at very many spots Brahmanic temples built by the Khmers, but it is apparent that they are of more recent date. Of ancient Buddhist monasteries there is only one, which is still to be seen at Nagor Phanom and is now called Phra Dhātu Phanom. On the other hand, in the Lāo country comprised within the valley of the Chao Phya River in the provincial circle of Bāyab, no Brahmanic temples exist, the ancient monuments there being connected exclusively with the Buddhist faith.

A consideration of the various historical monuments referred to above leads us to the inevitable conclusion that in olden times parties of Indians must have visited the Khmer country for the purposes of trade, and that they must have remained there until at last they either acquired power in the capacity of preceptors, or became the actual rulers of the land. But it is difficult to gather

reliable evidence as to when this immigration from India took place. An indication is perhaps to be found in a rock inscription of the Indian King Asoka, which recounts an invasion by him of the country of Kalinga in Southern India some time after the year of the Buddhist Era 200, when he had been seated on the throne for 9 years and before he had embraced the Buddhist faith. The inscription states that in this campaign, before the conquest of the country by King Asoka could be effected, large numbers of the people of Kalinga were slain and that over a hundred thousand of them figured as prisoners alone. It is permissible to assume from the above account that, at the period in question, many of the inhabitants of Southern India fled from King Asoka and emigrated to the region occupied by the Khmers. This supposition is consistent with the lettering and language, which are exclusively Southern Indian, of the stone inscriptions found in that region. If, therefore, we wish to fix the date when visitors from India first arrived in the Khmer country, we may assume that they came for the purposes of trade from about the beginning of the Buddhist Era or earlier, and that they then became acquainted with the country. Subsequently, some time after the year B. E. 200, the inhabitants of Southern India suffered through the conquest of their country by King Asoka and an emigration on their part then took place to the Khmer region, this being the first occasion upon which they settled there in considerable numbers. A parallel is afforded by the immigration into Siam of Mons in the time of Dhanapuri and during the second reign of the present dynasty, when large settlements were established; the populations of Muang Pradumdhani and of Muang Nagor Khien Khandh (Paklat) consist to this day in great measure of persons of Mon extraction. The Indian emigrants whom we are discussing must have established themselves in several different places. Once an Indian colony had arisen, it received continual additions in the shape of fresh emigrants who were in search of a new home, either in order to earn a living or because they were fleeing from some threatened danger. (In the same way, there is an influx of Chinese into Siam at the present time.) But these Indians were a civilised people, possessing a knowledge superior to that of the Khmers who,

for, many unbelievers, to the scandal of true monks, falsely took the vows. When this came to the knowledge of King Asōka, he purged the Church by expelling the unbelievers from the monastic circle. He then invited the monk **Moggaliputtatissa** to preside over the third Council of the Church at **Pāṭaliputta** in the eighteenth year of his reign (B. E. 236.). After the holding of this Council, he evinced the desire to spread Buddhism in other lands and sent out missionaries to preach the faith in various countries. From the rock inscriptions, it appears that the missionaries of King Asoka carried their message in the West as far as Syria and Egypt, and also to Macedonia in Europe. With regard to countries adjacent to his own and to Eastern lands, it appears that King Asoka invited the monk **Moggaliputtatissa** to select and despatch for the task of preaching the faith a number of other *arahants*, whose names, as well as the countries over which they dispersed themselves, are set forth in the following verses of the "**Mahāvamsa**":—

“ When the therā **Moggaliputta**, the illuminator of the  
 “ religion of the Conqueror, had brought the (third) council to an  
 “ end and when, looking into the future, he had beheld the founding  
 “ of the religion in adjacent countries, (then) in the month **Kattika**  
 “ he sent forth theras, one here and one there. The therā  
 “ **Majjhantika** he sent to Kasmīra and Gandhāra, the therā  
 “ **Mahādeva** he sent to Mahisamaṇḍala. To Vanavāsa he sent the  
 “ therā named **Rakkhita**, and to Aparantaka the Yona named  
 “ **Dhammarakkhita**: to Mahārattha (he sent) the therā named  
 “ **Mahādhammarakkhita**, but the therā **Mahārakkhita** he sent into  
 “ the country of the Yona. He sent the therā **Majjhima** to the  
 “ Himalaya country, and to Suvarṇabhūmi he sent the two theras  
 “ **Soma** and **Uttara**. The great therā **Mahinda**, the theras  
 “ **Itthiya**, **Uttiya**, **Sambala** and **Bhaddasāla**, his disciples, these five  
 “ theras he sent forth with the charge: ‘Ye shall found in the  
 “ lovely island of **Laṅkā** (Ceylon) the lovely religion of the  
 “ Conqueror.’ ”\*

\* Translation of Geiger and Bode.

Professor Rhys Davids in his work on Buddhism thus identifies the countries mentioned in the above verses:—

The monk **Majjhanika** visited **Kasmira** and **Gandhara**, i.e., the countries now known as **Kashmir** and **Afghanistan**, on the **North-West** frontier of **India**.

The monk **Mahadeva** visited the country of **Mahis**, i.e., the district in **India** South of the **Godavery** River within the present territory of the **Nizam of Hyderabad**.

The monk **Rakkhita** visited **Vanavasa**, which Professor Rhys Davids understands to lie on the edge of the desert within the district of **Rajputana** in **India**.

The monk **Dhammarakkhita** visited **Aparantaka**, which is understood to be on the **Western** border of the **Punjab**.

The monk **Mahadhammarakkhita** visited **Maharattha**, which is in the **Mahratta** district towards the source of the **Godavery** River, **150 miles North-East** of **Bombay**.

The monk **Maharakkhita** visited the country of the **Yona**, which is now known as **Bactria**, in **Persia**.

The monk **Majjhima** visited **Himavanta**, i.e., the countries situated among the **Himalaya** mountains.

The monks **Sopa** and **Uttara** visited **Suvarṇabhūmi**, which Professor Rhys Davids explains as consisting of the region extending from **Pegu** down through the **Malay Peninsula**.

The monk **Mahinda**, who was a son of **King Asoka**, and several other monks, visited **Ceylon**.

Subsequent corroboration of the account given in the **Mahāvanisa** of the mission of these monks in the time of **King Asoka** has been furnished by a **stūpa** containing sacred relics, which forms one among a group of commemorative *relics* in **India**. On this **stūpa** there is an inscription in stone to the effect that the enclosed relics are those of the monk **Majjhima**, who preached the **Buddhist** religion in the land of **Himavanta** and who, after his return, died

and was cremated at that spot. And in Ceylon many other proofs are forthcoming to shew that the monk Mahinda actually did introduce Buddhism into that island.

The Mons allege that the land of Suvarṇabhūmi, in which the monks Sōṇa and Uttara established the Bhuddhist faith, is indential with the district of Thatōn on the Gulf of Martaban. But I think that we Siamese, with better reason than the Mons, may place it in our own country. For we have a district called U Thong (source or repository of gold) which corresponds to the old name Suvarṇabhūmi (land of gold): if the latter name was derived from the presence of gold, it is significant that in Pegu there are no gold mines, although such exist in Siam. But it is unnecessary to dispute on this point. I agree with the explanation of Professor Rhys Davids, who states that by Suvarṇabhūmi is meant the region extending from Pegu to Western Siam, or perhaps even as far as what is now Annam. The whole of this region was formerly known to the Indians as Suvarṇabhūmi. The monks Sōṇa and Uttara doubtless landed at some place on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, possibly at Thatōn. But there is one established fact not yet known to archaeologists in other countries, namely, that in Western Siam there exists a certain ancient city with the remains of many stūpas, cetiyas and vihāras. In the whole of Suvarṇabhūmi, from Burma and Pegu down through the Malay Peninsula, there is no city at once larger and older than this one. In ancient writings it is called Jaya-Çiri or Çiri-Jaya, and it was already abandoned before the foundation of the old capital at Sukhōdaya. Only recently has it become a town once more after the construction of the railway, its present name being Nagor Pathom. Many later proofs have been discovered to support the view of His Majesty King Mongkut, who set up a stone inscription at the *cetiya* there, declaring that the Buddhist religion was introduced into the city in the time of King Asoka. Firstly, the shape of the stūpa resembles that of the commemorative stūpas constructed under King Asoka. (Consider the model which has been made of the ancient *cetiya*, excluding the prāṅ added later by Phya Bhāṇ.). Moreover, like those of King Asoka's day, the stūpa is of brick. Secondly, there have been dug up at Nagor Pathom many stones

fashioned in the shape of a wheel (typifying the wheel of the law). These were employed as religious emblems in place of statues of the Buddha, as appears from the investigations of archaeologists in India, who state that in the period of King Asoka statues of the Buddha were not made, but that they are products of a later date. I have not heard that anywhere else in neighbouring countries have so many of these representations of the wheel of the law been dug up as at Nagor Pathom. I arrive therefore at the following conclusion. When King Asoka was disseminating the Buddhist religion abroad—it matters not whether this was accomplished through the agency of monks, or of state officials, or of pious Indians who had gone forth on trading expeditions—in any case, I believe that the Indians already then established in power at Nagor Pathom were the first to be converted and—after them—the original population. In this connection, it should not be forgotten that missionaries must understand the language of those to whom they preach. Inasmuch as the Buddhist faith was professed at Nagor Pathom before it was adopted in any other of the cities of Suvarṇabhūmi, the earliest *cetiya* erected there was from its first foundation called “Phra Pathom Cetiya” (พระปฐมเจดีย์)\*. Later on, the same faith was spread from Nagor Pathom to other cities, and it is for this reason that Buddhism is professed by most of the peoples who live on the Western shores of the Gulf of Siam, as also by the inhabitants of the Lāo country in the provincial circle of Bāyab and by the Mons and Burmans. For the same reason, the ancient monuments found among these peoples consist only of monasteries and inscriptions connected with Buddhism and are not of Brahmanic origin, as is the case in the regions lying to the East. We are not, however, to conclude that the Buddhist religion did not at that time extend further Eastwards: the shrine (Phra Dhātu) at Phanom, on the banks of the Mekhong River, affords evidence to the contrary. I have myself visited this shrine and examined it during several

\*Such was also the usual modern name of the town of Nagor Pathom until quite recently, its present designation having been officially assigned to it only a few years ago. “Pathom”—“pathama”—(ปฐม) means “first.”—[Translator's Note.]

days. Its style is peculiar, the sculptures being in that of King Asōka's period and not resembling the work of the builders of the Brahmanic temples in Cambodia.

Indian history tells us that, even at the time when King Asoka established Buddhism as the principal creed in most of the countries of India, there were still adherents of the Brahmanic faith to be found everywhere, since Buddhism and Brahmanism were not directly opposed to each other. There were many points of similarity between the tenets of the two religions, although the former attached chief importance to the moral law, whilst the latter concerned itself mainly with the physical universe. (The same distinction may be observed in our own country). King Asoka did not, therefore, suppress Brahmanism, but merely refrained from supporting it as he did Buddhism. After his death, no monarch of the Moriya line exercised the same power as he, and the Kingdom of Magadha gradually declined, many cities which had been subject to King Asoka regaining their independence. Of these, the rulers in some cases professed the Buddhist faith; others were adherents to the Brahmanic religion, and the same held good of the ordinary populace.

Ceylon received the Buddhist faith in the reign of King Devānampiyatissa. In our account of the Church Councils it is stated that, in the year of the Buddhist Era 238, the monk Mahinda, who first introduced Buddhism into the island, summoned the fourth of the Councils. Later, in the year B. E. 433, King Vataḡāmini overcame the Tamils and, after re-establishing the independence of Ceylon, became imbued with the desire to restore the Buddhist creed to its former state of purity. The ecclesiastics of the day were apprehensive lest the faith should disappear as a result of the conquest of their country by the unbelieving Tamils on two occasions. The Council of the Church named the fifth in our account was therefore convened and led to the preparation of the first written version of the Tripitaka, which was inscribed upon palm leaves. (Professor Rhys Davids fixes the year B. E. 330 as the date of this Council.) Of the written version then made, only the sacred text was in the language of Magadha; the

commentaries and glosses were at that time all of them still in the Cinghalese tongue.

. In the year B. E. 553,\* King Kanishka, of the Kusāna line, was lord over the realm of Gandhāra and set up his capital at Purush (known to-day as Peshawar), in North-Western India. Like King Asōka he was ruler of a broad domain and was a devout follower of Buddhism, which form of religion he wished to set up as the first in the land, as had been the case in King Asoka's time. For this cause he invited 500 monks, the monk Vasubandhu being at their head, to assemble in a Council of the Church at Purush. The Council summoned by King Kanishka is not mentioned in the ecclesiastical history of us Southern Buddhists. It is chiefly to be noted for having adopted the Sanskrit tongue as the language of the Tripitaka, and from it dates the rise in Northern India of the "mahā yāna" sect. The origin of this sect is to be explained by the fact that a division based upon differences in points of doctrine had sprung up among the monks in India, first commencing, as we may assume, from the date of the second Church Council in B. E. 100. One party adhered strictly to the precepts of the Buddha and refused to alter them to suit the wishes of individuals. Another party attached special importance to the making of converts and in so doing followed the example of the Brahman teachers, who, observing that large numbers of persons were attracted by the Buddhist faith, had modified their own religion by embodying in it certain of the popular features of Buddhism and by this means had satisfied the public taste. Subsequently, in King Kanishka's day, when the number of those who were drawn to the Brahmanic form of religion had increased, such among the Buddhist monks as set their chief store upon public approbation endeavoured to acquire popularity by changing the tenets of their faith. They named this altered body of doctrine the "mahā yāna" (great vehicle), implying thereby that by means of it escape from the circle of existence would be assured to more

\* More correctly, not earlier than the end of the first century of the Christian era. [Emendation by H. R. H. Prince Damrong].



living creatures and more rapidly than by means of the old form of Buddhism. The "mahā yāna" doctrines were propagated first of all in the Kingdom of Gandhāra. King Kanishka sent out missionaries to preach Buddhism in foreign lands, as was done in the time of King Asoka, except that most of these new missionaries proceeded towards the North. In this manner, Buddhism first reached China and Thibet in King Kanishka's reign,\* and it is, therefore, the "mahā yāna" or Northern form of it which prevails in China, in Japan and even in Annam, as may be seen to-day from the Chinese and Annamite monks who live in our midst. On the other hand, Ceylon, Burma, Pegu and Siam received the Buddhist faith from Magadha in the time of King Asoka, and in those countries the Southern form (known to the followers of the "mahā yāna" as the "hīna yāna" or "lower vehicle") has always been practised. From those same times there dates also a difference in regard to the Tripitaka, which in the case of the Northern form of Buddhism are in the Sanskrit tongue and have also been translated into Chinese. By the followers of the Southern form, however, they are still read in the language of Magadha, both as regards the canonical text and the commentaries, which latter the monk Buddha Ghōsha, of Buddha Gayā in India, translated from Cinghalese into Magadhese about the year B. E. 596. From that time, the religious commentaries, glosses, etc., of the Southern form of Buddhism, which were originally in Cinghalese, have been in the Magadhese language, and those of later date have also been composed in the same tongue.

The Northern form of Buddhism must have been to some extent introduced into Suvarnabhūmi, for in that region have been discovered ancient statues of the Buddha describing with finger and thumb a circle so as to emblemize the wheel of the law. Statues having this peculiarity are called "Gandhārese" after the name of King Kanishka's country and are to be seen at Nagor Pathom and in many other ancient cities of this part of the world.

\* Probably even earlier. [Emendation by H. R. H. Prince Damrong].

After the reign of King Kanishka, the Brahmanic creed regained its ascendancy in India, but there still remained kings and peoples who were followers of the Buddhist faith. In the year B. E. 1172, a Chinese monk named Hiouen Tsang or Yuan Chwang travelled to India overland for the purpose of investigating Buddhism. He has placed it on record that, at that period, the Brahmanic form of religion was everywhere disputing for supremacy with the Buddhist, and that there was a certain monarch named King Cīlāditya, the ruler of the country of Kanyakūbja (now known as Kanauj), who was a devout supporter of Buddhism after the fashion of King Asoka both within his own dominions and in foreign lands, to which latter he despatched missionaries. But in the reign of King Cīlāditya Buddhism had, for two reasons which have already been noted, become even more changed than before. In the first place, the dissensions among its followers tended to increase, and in the second, the adherents to Brahmanism continued to preach their doctrines in opposition to those of the Buddhist creed. The monk Hiouen Tsang witnessed the summoning by King Cīlāditya of Buddhist monks and Brahman preceptors, together with the rulers of dependent states, to a common Church Council. The first day's deliberations were held in the presence of a statue of the Buddha, those of the second day in that of a representation of Indrāditya, and those of the third day in that of a representation of Cīva. This Council was apparently held in the endeavour to reconcile the various conflicting forms of belief. Hiouen Tsang states that the differences in doctrine between Buddhism and Brahmanism were first of all discussed, and that afterwards there was a discussion upon the differences of system between the followers of the Northern form of Buddhism upon the one hand and the followers of the Southern form of the same religion upon the other.

I believe that the despatch of missionaries by King Cīlāditya had results which reached as far as this country, as is evidenced for example by the discovery of stamped impressions of sacred figures which have been discovered at Nagor Pathom and at Rājapuri (Ratburi), or which have been found littered about caves in the provincial circles of Nagor Cri Dharmarāj (Nakhon Si

Tammarat), Bhūkech (Puket) and Pattānī. All these stamped impressions are to be connected with the later stages of the "mahāyāna" form of Buddhism; they consist of representations both of the Buddha and of various Bodhisatvas, the latter either male or female, some of them being depicted with many arms. The letters appearing on the back of the impressions are in the Devanāgarī character and differ from inscriptions of earlier date. In my opinion, the sacred shrines (  $\text{𑂔𑂩𑂰𑂔𑂰𑂔𑂰𑂔𑂰𑂔𑂰𑂔𑂰}$  ) at Jayā and Nagor Cī Dharmaraj (before the construction of the Cinghalese *cetiya*s which now enclose them) were both of them connected with the "mahāyāna", and were probably erected at the time of the missionary efforts put forth under King Cīladitya towards the year B. E. 1200. At this same period were erected the *cetiya*s called "tjandi" by the Javanese which exist at several places in Java.

There is nothing to shew exactly when were introduced into our part of the world those forms of Brahmanism especially connected with the worship of Śiva or of Vishnu. But we may assume that, after the establishment of Indian colonies in the region occupied by the Khmers, intercourse with the parent country was always maintained and that any changes (including those effected in religious matters) occurring in the latter would make themselves felt in the former also. As the Brahmanic religion became more popular in India, there must have been devotees who introduced it into and spread it throughout our own neighbourhood, just as had happened before at the time when Buddhism itself was first introduced.

There is a legend to the effect that an Indian prince once emigrated to the region which is now known as Cambodia, where he married a royal lady, (it is not stated whether she was herself the ruler of the country, or merely a King's daughter), and subsequently became sovereign of the land and the ancestor of many subsequent rulers. This tale accords with the evidence furnished by stone inscriptions found in Cambodia and containing the names of many Khmer Kings who were apparently of Indian origin.

These Kings are as follows:—Crutavarman, Cresthavarman, Bhavavarman I, Mahendrarvarman, Içānavarman, Bhavavarman II, Jayavarman I, Jayavarman II (B. E. 1345—1412), Jayavarman III, Indrarvarman I, Yaçovarman (B. E. 1432—53), Haravarman I, Içānavarman II, Jayavarman IV, Haravarman II, Rājendrarvarman, Jayavarman V, Udayādityavarman I, Sūryavarman I (B. E. 1545—92), Udayādityavarman II, Haravarman III, Jayavarman VI, Dharaṇīndrarvarman I, Sūryavarman II (B. E. 1655—95), Haravarman IV (?), Dharaṇīndrarvarman II, Jayavarman VII (B. E. 1725—44), Indrarvarman II, Cṛī Indrarvarman, Cṛī Indrajayavarman and Jayavarmaparamēçvara.\*

The inscriptions indicate that all these "Varman" Kings were followers of Brahmanism. In his work on Cambodia, Aymonier tells us that King Jaya Varman II. built the stone temple at Angkor Thom about the year B. E. 1400, and that King Sūryavarman II. built that at Angkor Wat about the year B. E. 1650.

From the indications outlined above, we may assume that those Indians who crossed the Gulf of Siam and settled to the East of it were not originally converts to Buddhism. Later, whether on account of a war at some date or for other reasons of which we are ignorant, certain princes from Southern India who were followers of the Brahmanic form of religion emigrated with their followings to Suvarṇabhūmi, but, not being content to dwell with the Buddhist settlers in the West, they crossed over and joined themselves to the Brahman colonists who had established themselves to the East. Other emigrants from India must have followed continually, until at last these colonists succeeded in setting up a great and powerful state which, after securing its position in the Southern portion of the Khmer region, extended its dominion over neighbouring districts. The Indian settlers in Cambodia must have been ruled by a long

\*The above list has been furnished by Prince Damrong in substitution for the one originally printed, and has been extracted from Professor Finot's "Notes d'Epigraphie Indochinoise" which were published in the Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Volume XV., No. 2. [Translator's Note.]

succession of powerful monarchs; they were thus able to possess themselves of the Lāo country both in the valley of the River Mekhong and in that of the River Chao Phya, and they shewed themselves capable of erecting stone temples such as those at Angkor Thom and at Angkor Wat, which are unequalled for size in the whole world. Moreover, when they had acquired any fresh territory, they proved that they could govern it in their own way and establish their own religion in it. This may be seen from the many stone temples which the Khmers erected at various spots and which are to be found almost everywhere in the neighbourhood of our country. It should not be forgotten that at that period the means available for building purposes were not what they are to-day, human labour and patience being then the chief requisites. In the construction of any of these temples, consider how many men must have been employed and how much time and patience have been expended, in order to quarry and shape the blocks of stone, to raise them and fit them into position according to plan, and then to carve them and polish them to perfection. Hundreds of men must have been utilised for the erection of any one temple, and in the case of such huge edifices as Angkor Wat thousands must have been employed. Further, the work of construction must everywhere have been carried on throughout successive reigns, ceasing only when calamity overtook the state, or when its resources became too enfeebled for the continuation of the task. For these reasons—His Royal Highness Prince Sarbasiddhi Prasong was the first to notice the fact, which I myself observed after him—all the stone temples built by the Khmers, wherever they may be or whatever may be their size, wear to this day the appearance of having never been completed. The incredulous may verify this statement by inspecting any one of such buildings at will.

The Khmers reached the zenith of their power about the year B. E. 1400; they had their capital at Angkor Thom, known in Siamese as Phra Nagar Insang, not far from Angkor Wat. They selected also Lavō (the modern Lobpurī) as the seat of a Viceroy, who governed the Khmer possessions in the valley of the River Chao Phya. North of the chain of hills in the valley of the

Mekhong, we can gather from the size of the temples still existing at Phimai that that place was also the residence of a Viceroy and the seat of government in that region. There was perhaps still another such seat of government in the neighbourhood of Surindra and Khu Khandh. The Brahmanic customs and the Sanskrit terms which are to this day intermingled with the usages and language of the Siamese may be held to have been first introduced by the Brahmans at the period when the Khmers of Cambodia were masters of the country. In a certain temple in Cambodia there is a stone inscription relating to a grant of the use of land to the temple by a Khmer King: it is stipulated that, should the King ever come to the country in which this temple is situated, the Brahmans must receive him with divine honours. We may have here the origin of the rites performed by the Brahmans for the reception of the Phya who presides over our swinging festival (and who represents the sovereign of the country). During the course of the swinging ceremonies, this official is still received by the Brahmans into the city as though he were a god upon one day, and is similarly escorted out of it again by them upon another.

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### THE THAI.

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I have said previously that the Thai had their first home in Southern China, where they formed already an important element of the population before the commencement of the Buddhist Era. There are still in Southern China to-day many tribes who speak a Thai language and who are to be recognised as members of the original Thai stock. The people known to us as Ho are in reality Thai and not Chinese. In Chinese historical works, and especially in the narrative designated "Sām Kok"\* ("The Three Kingdoms"), mention is made of wars between the Chinese and the "Huen." European students of the antiquities of China have discovered that the people called "Huen" in these compositions were really none other than the Thai. As, however, the Chinese gave another name to them, their identity was not

\* Known to Europeans as "San Kuo Chih."

known until scholars had ascertained that the four provinces of Southern China now called Yunnan, K'ai Chou, Kuang Tung and Kuang Si formerly comprised a region in which the Thai had established several independent states. From about the year B. E. 400, as a result of over-population, these Thai began to emigrate to the South-West and South. Later on, the Chinese, as their power increased, extended their frontiers so as to encroach upon the domain of the Thai who, being thus pressed, were unable to dwell in comfort in the region which they had first occupied. Knowing from their fellows who had emigrated previously that it was easier to support life in the lands to the South-West and South, the Thai thereupon descended into those parts in ever growing numbers. They came down in two directions, those who travelled in a South-Westerly direction establishing themselves in the valley of the River Salwin, whilst those who came down in a Southerly direction settled in the valley of the River Mekhong. The emigrants into the Salwin region set up an independent Thai state about the year B. E. 800 with its capital at Muang Phong, (which may be identified with the modern Muang Hāng Luang). The emigrants who descended into the valley of the Mekhong established independent Thai states in the region now called the

Sibsong Chu Thai" (สิบสองจุไทย), from the words "twelve Chao Thai" (twelve Thai rulers), owing to the fact that there were at first a number of small separate principalities thus set up. Subsequently, a Thai ruler named Khun Parama obtained sufficient ascendancy to unite the Thai states in the Mekhong valley into one, the capital of which he established at Muang Thaeng. The Thai having thus come down from China in two separate directions and having set up two states independent of one another, this circumstance led afterwards to a distinction in the matter of names. Those who had settled in the valley of the Salwin came to be known as Thai Yai (greater Thai) and are the people now called Shans ("ngiu"—ရှမ်း) by us; those who had established themselves in the state of Muang Thaeng came to be known as Thai Noi (lesser Thai).

According to European writers, those members of the Thai.

race who had remained in their original home continued to be hard pressed by the Chinese until, in the year B. E. 1192, there arose a Thai monarch called in the Chinese Annals Hsi Nu Lo who united six Thai states under his rule and set up his capital at a place to the North-West of the town of Hua Ting in what is now the province of Yunnan. After the Thai had in this way been merged into one state they became sufficiently strong to protect themselves and to resist pressure from the Chinese. The family of King Hsi Nu Lo reigned for four generations, the last of the dynasty being a Thai monarch who is named in the Chinese annals Ko Lo Fung and who ruled in B. E. 1291. This king was a great warrior and made his capital at Muang Nong Sae, the Ta-li-fu of the Chinese (which exists in the province of Yunnan to this day). The territory over which his sway extended was called by the Chinese Nan Chao; he waged several wars with the Chinese and Thibetans, afterwards becoming reconciled with the former, who agreed to a marriage between his son and a Chinese princess.

On ascertaining from the works of European scholars that the original home of the Thai was known to the Chinese as Nan Chao, I commissioned Khun Chen Chin Akshara (Sut Chai) to examine the historical works in the Chinese language which are to be found in the National Library at Bangkok. In the composition named "The 24 Dynastic Histories" under the section designated "Tang Annals," which deals with foreign countries at the time when the Tang dynasty ruled in China, he discovered the following account of Nan Chao.

Nan Chao was situated in the present Chinese province of Yunnan; on the North-West it bordered upon the country of Tu Fan (i.e., Thibet), and on the South-West upon that of Ch'iao Chih (i.e., that portion of the Khmer dominions which forms the Annam of to-day.) The region of Nan Chao included six large independent states, namely, Mung Sui, Yüeh Shê, Lang Chiung, Tâng Tan, Shih Lang and Mung Shê. Of these the largest was Mung Shê, which lay far to the South and at the present time exists still as a frontier-post.

The word "Nan" in the name Nan Chao means "South" in the Chinese language; "Chao" was an honorific title given by the



people themselves to their king and is identical with the Siamese word "chao" (lord), which corresponds to the Chinese "Ong" (𨾏). Nan Chao may thus be translated as "the country of the Southern Lord." (For the better understanding of my readers I shall henceforward refer to Nan Chao as "the original country of the Thai").

The "24 Dynastic Histories" makes its first mention of the above country at the period when the Chinese Empire was divided up into three kingdoms, the ruler of one of which was King Liu Pei who reigned over Ssüchu'an. The latter was succeeded on his death by King Hou Chu, in the second year of whose reign (B. E. 768) K'ung Ming invaded and conquered the Thai country. (In the composition known as "Sām Kok" this invasion is referred to as the war with Mêng Huo). The six Thai states were unable to withstand K'ung Ming, and they accordingly acknowledged the suzerainty of Ssüchu'an. No further allusion is made to the Thai until the year B. E. 1193, when it is stated that, in the reign of the Chinese Emperor Kao Tsung (the third monarch of the Tang dynasty), there was a Thai King named Hsi Nu Lo who ruled at Mung Shè and who despatched an embassy to cultivate friendly relations with the sovereign of China. The narrative recounts further that, after the death of King Hsi Nu Lo, there followed a succession of Thai rulers one of whom, King P'i Lo Ko, united to his own state the five other Thai principalities (termed by the Chinese "Chao") which had still retained their independence. This King P'i Lo Ko also despatched an embassy to cultivate friendly relations with the Emperor of China.

Later, in the year B. E. 1286, in the reign of the Chinese Emperor Yüan Tsung (the sixth of the Tang dynasty), ambassadors from the original country of the Thai again visited China; the Emperor sent an imperial letter and presents in return and a close friendship between the Chinese and the Thai was established. Soon afterwards King P'i Lo Ko conquered several dependencies comprised within the frontiers of Thibet, in one of which he set up a new capital.

King P'i Lo Ko died in the year B. E. 1293 and was succeeded by his son Ko Lo Fung, who in his turn established relations of friendship with China. One day, whilst on a visit to the Chinese border where it adjoined Thai territory at the city of Yunnan, he was treated disrespectfully by the Chinese officials in charge of the frontier districts. Incensed at this treatment King Ko Lo Fung led an army into China, capturing thirty-two districts in the province of Yunnan and setting up his capital at Yunnan city.

In B. E. 1294, the Emperor of China despatched a great army to retake this same city. King Ko Lo Fung thereupon sent messengers to the Chinese commander to announce his willingness to make a treaty of friendship as before, and to return certain of the conquered districts to China. The Chinese commander, however, would not agree to these proposals; he imprisoned the Thai emissaries and proceeded to attack Yunnan city but was defeated and forced to retreat by King Ko Lo Fung. The Emperor of China then ordered the raising of a new army; but the troops had not yet begun their march when news was received that cholera had broken out at Yunnan. The Chinese soldiers deserted from fear of this disease, and the threatened attack was consequently never delivered. Anticipating that he would be obliged to wage war with China again, King Ko Lo Fung thereupon made a treaty with the King of Thibet, hoping for assistance from that country in combating the Chinese.

In B. E. 1297, the Chinese advanced to the attack of Yunnan city once more. On that occasion King Ko Lo Fung lured them into marching to the city of Ta Ho Ch'ing where he surrounded them with his own troops, thus cutting off supplies and preventing a further advance on the part of the enemy. The Chinese army being compelled to retire owing to lack of provisions and to an outbreak of cholera in its ranks, King Ko Lo Fung led the Thai forces in pursuit of it and routed it. The Chinese attacked Yunnan city on many subsequent occasions, but were in every case repulsed by the Thai with great loss.

In B. E. 1322, in the reign of the Emperor Tai Tsung, the eighth of the Tang dynasty, King Ko Lo Fung died. He was followed as ruler of the original country of the Thai by his grandson, I Mou Hsin. In the same year, a Thai army in conjunction with troops from Thibet advanced against Ssüch'uan, but the attack failed and the combined forces were obliged to retire.

In B. E. 1330, in the reign of the Emperor Tê Tsung, the ninth of the Tang dynasty, the chief minister of state in the original Thai country was a nobleman of Chinese race named Chên Kuei. This personage had formerly been a district officer in the district of Shui Chou and had been taken prisoner by the Thai when King Ko Lo Fung invaded China. The King observed that he was a man of learning and appointed him tutor to his grandson I Mou Hsin, who on ascending the throne made of him his first minister. Chên Kuei perceived that the people suffered great hardship and much loss of life on account of the continual wars between the Thai, the Thibetans and the Chinese. He realised that, if the Thai and the Chinese became friends, the Thibetans would no longer dare to invade China and that an end would be put to these wars. He submitted the above considerations to King I Mou Hsin, who concurred in them and despatched ambassadors to China with proposals of friendship. The Emperor of China was agreeable; in his turn he sent an embassy to the Thai King, and from that time forward the original country of the Thai and China were on amicable terms. But the Thibetans, on hearing news of this, became distrustful of the Thai.

In B. E. 1337, the King of Thibet led an army against China and sent a letter asking for help from the Thai. King I Mou Hsin made a pretence of advancing with his forces to the assistance of the Thibetans, but when a suitable opportunity occurred he fell upon their army and dispersed it. He took possession of sixteen Thibetan provinces and led many Thibetans into captivity.

In B. E. 1372, in the reign of the Emperor Wê Tsung, the fourteenth of the Tang dynasty, the Chinese

governor of Ssüch'uan oppressed the people of his province heavily and numbers of Chinese soldiers fled to the king of the original Thai country for protection. The Thai king at that period was a monarch named Ts'o Tien, by whom the refugees from Ssüch'uan were treated with great kindness. He placed them later in the van of an army with which he attacked and seized the districts of Shui Chou, Yung Chou and Kung Chou, dependencies of Ssüch'uan. The Chinese forces, however, were assembled in time to meet him at the inner frontier of the province. Perceiving that they could not conquer Ssüch'uan itself, the Thai retreated to their own country carrying with them much booty and many captives.

In B. E. 1401, in the reign of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung, the sixteenth of the Tang dynasty, the ruler of Annam, which was then a dependency of China, was led by his cupidity into buying horses and cattle from thieves who had stolen them from the original Thai country. For this reason a Thai army advanced into Annam, pillaging the land before it returned home.

In the original country of the Thai the royal line descended as far as King Fung Yu, who at his death was followed on the throne by his son, King Shih Lung. The Emperor of China held the latter in aversion for bearing a name identical with that of one of the sovereigns of the Tang dynasty. The Emperor refrained, therefore, from sending a mission to attend the obsequies of King Fung Yu in accordance with the custom between friendly states. King Shih Lung, being incensed on account of this treatment, intruded and conquered the district of Po Chou in China.

In B. E. 1403, in the reign of the Emperor I the seventeenth of the Tang dynasty, the ruler of Tü Sio may have been either a Thai or a Chinese. He entered into that borders of Annam, entered into that pillaged a number of districts. This with the ruler of Annam, by adherents fled to Po Chou for Annam pursued them with his a

Po Chou. In revenge for this action the Thai invaded and conquered Annam, and they subsequently attacked also the district of Yung Chou, in the province of Kuang Tung in China. The Annamites, however, succeeded in regaining possession of their country.

In B. E. 1404, a high Chinese mandarin of Sieng An named Tū Chong represented to the Emperor of China that, as the Thai had grown very powerful, whilst the Chinese forces guarding the marches of Ssüch'uan on the other hand were insufficient and feeble, it would be well to make a friend of the Thai King with a view to dissuading him from disturbing China. The Emperor agreed and was about to despatch an embassy for this purpose, when he heard that a Thai army had taken Shui Chou. The sending of an embassy was therefore postponed.

In B. E. 1405, a Thai army again invaded Annam, the ruler of which country requested help from the Chinese. On learning that a Chinese force was advancing to assist the Annamites, the Thai withdrew.

In B. E. 1406, the king of the original country of the Thai invaded Annam with yet another army. The Annamites again sought the aid of the Chinese, but the Thai had overcome them before the Chinese troops could arrive. Having thus subdued Annam, the Thai king appointed officers to take charge of the country and returned home once more.

In B. E. 1407, the Thai attacked and took Yung Chou in China, but the Chinese were able to win the district back.

In B. E. 1409, the Emperor of China sent an army into Annam which was successful in winning it back from the Thai.

In B. E. 1413, the Thai king invaded the province of Ssüch'uan, subduing the districts on the road to Ch'êng Tu, the capital, which he reached and to which he laid siege. But the Emperor of China despatched an army to the relief of the city and saved it from capture by the Thai, who thereupon withdrew and returned home.



city of **Jaya Prākār** (now **Muang Jaya** in the district of **Chueng Rāi**), which was the first **Thai** settlement on the Southern bank of the **River Mekhong**.

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### THE BURMESE.

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The **Burmese** and **Peguan** annals, like our own **Northern** annals, give to events a date earlier than the actual facts warrant. The reason for this lies in the desire of the compilers to link up the history of their own country with the period of the **Buddha**, so that they may have the glory of referring back to the **Sakya** line, to the person of the **Buddha** himself and to the astrological predictions connected with him. The chronology of the earlier portions of the **Burmese** and **Peguan** annals thus furnishes points of much difficulty for conjecture on the part of students of antiquity. In the following account I shall only narrate events in accordance with what we may believe to be the truth. Long ago, a branch of the **Mon-Khmer** (၁၀၀) race, which came afterwards to be called **Mons** or **Peguans** (၁၁၁), had extended their settlements as far as the lower valley of the **Irawaddy River**. To the North of them dwelt another race, the origins of which are not exactly known, but which may have had affinities with the **Lāo**. At about the beginning of the **Buddhist** era, a body of **Indian** emigrants descended the upper waters of the **Irawaddy** and established the independent state of **Thatōn**. Later on, when the **Thai** who had settled in the valley of the **Salwin** grew more powerful, they pushed their frontiers into the **Irawaddy** valley and took possession of **Thatōn**. The people of the latter country fled Southwards from the **Thai** and founded the state of **Sārakhetr** near the district in which the city of **Prae** or **Prome** was afterwards built. At that time, **Indian** merchants were in the habit of visiting **Burma** and **Pegu** and had established settlements there, just as had happened further South. There was also a people, afterwards known as the **Burmesé**, which had come down from their original home on the confines of **India** and **Thibet** and had settled in the **Irawaddy** valley. These **Burmans** descended in increasing

numbers and finally became masters in that region by wresting the power from the hands of the greater Thai and of the first founders of Thatôn. They had a king who set up his capital at Pagan, where an independent Burmese state was established about the year B. E. 1200. A succession of monarchs followed until, about B. E. 1600, there reigned at Pagan a powerful king named Anuruddha, who is called Anōradhā Mang Cho in our Northern annals and who subdued the various other states situated in the valleys of the Irawaddy and of the Salwin. The period was one in which the might of the Khmers was declining; King Anuruddha accordingly brought them into subjection under him and extended his territory as far as the valley of the River Chao Phyā. Our Northern annals tell us that his dominions reached to the city of Lavō.

The Burmese and Peguan annals agree with many accounts of our own in stating that King Anuruddha was a very devout follower of the Buddhist faith, which he supported in our part of the world as King Asōka had done formerly in Magadha. The circulation of the Tripitaka in our land dates from the time when King Anuruddha procured copies of them from Ceylon.

The Burmese annals state that there existed formerly a city called Thatôn under an independent ruler who was a devout Buddhist and the builder of many splendid cetiyas and viharas. In the course of the wars which King Anuruddha waged in order to extend his dominions, he is said to have attacked and taken this city of Thatôn, leading away its population into captivity at Pagan. Thatôn remained thenceforward in a state of abandonment; plans were, however, made of such of its monasteries, cetiyas and viharas as attracted the eye of King Anuruddha and these plans were followed by him and by his successors in the erection of new buildings at Pagan. Thus it is that Pagan possesses a larger number of old cetiyas and viharas than is to be found in any other city of Burma or Pegu, as may be seen at the present day. When dealing with this subject in his work on Burma, Sir George Scott says that there are no indications that there were at Thatôn very many ancient cetiyas and viharas, as alleged in the Burmese



**Annals.** He imagines that King Anuruddha must have taken his models from Angkor Wat in Cambodia. On reading the above expression of opinion, I could not help regretting that Sir George Scott had not investigated this question when he was British *Chargé d'Affaires* in Siam, as he was a friend of mine and, if he had mentioned the matter to me, I would have taken him on a week's visit to Nagor Pathom to search among the ruins there. He would then have seen the still visible traces of an abundance of ancient cetiyas and vihāras which date from before the period of King Anuruddha. The models for the buildings at Pagan were taken from no other place than Nagor Pathom. I venture to insist on this statement, inasmuch as at Angkor Wat there are no stūpas of the Buddhist type. And other evidence exists to support my assertion in the shape of the printed impressions of the Buddha which have been dug up at Nagor Pathom and the like of which have not been found anywhere else in our part of the world, excepting only at Pagan. Still further proof is furnished by the discovery at Nagor Pathom of some ancient silver coins bearing a conch upon one side. I sent specimens of these to various quarters, including the British Museum in England, enquiring whether similar coins had been found at other places. I received a reply to the effect that their counterpart had been discovered only at Pagan. The above evidence is sufficient to justify the belief that the city of Thaton which King Anuruddha is said to have conquered was in reality Nagor Pathom. He may even, perhaps, have received the Buddhist faith there. As Nagor Pathom was abandoned from the year B. E. 1600 onwards, no local history of the place exists.

We do not know for certain how far King Anuruddha succeeded in extending his dominions. The Burmese and Peguan annals say that they were vast, that on the South the conquests of this monarch reached as far as the chief centre of Khmer rule at Angkor Wat and that on the North he fought even with China (in order to obtain possession of a tooth of the Buddha.) In so far as Siam is concerned, we may believe that King Anuruddha destroyed the power of the Khmers throughout the whole of the valley of the Chao Phya River on both of its banks.

seized upon this region, it would appear that he set up in it a number of small separate states each of them under the suzerainty of Pagan. This is possibly to be gathered from our Northern annals, where it is stated that King Candajōti of Lavō gave his elder sister (Chao Fā Kao Prabāl to King Anuruddha in marriage and that Lavō and Pagan thereafter remained on terms of friendship. (The compiler of the Northern Annals wrongly gives to Pagan the name of Thatōn.)

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### THE RISE OF SIAM UNDER THE THAI.

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In the "Phongsāwādan Yonok" it is stated that, about the year B. E. 1400, King Brahma came down and wrested territory from the Khmers in the modern provincial circle of Bāyab, where he built the Thai city of Jaya Prākār. We may assume that from this period onwards, after an advance had thus been effected into Bāyab, the number of Thai emigrants who penetrated into that district increased steadily. But it would seem from the "Phongsāwādan Yōnok" that the country occupied by those of the Thai who crossed to the South of the Mekhong River was split up into petty principalities independent of one another, with no common centre of government unless such existed in the parent state which had been established in the region of the Sibsong Chu Thai. I believe that it was between the years B. E. 1400 and 1600 that the Thai first began to settle in the lower valley of the Chao Phyā River, which was then still in the hands of the Khmers. When, soon after B. E. 1600, King Anuruddha overcame the Khmers numbers of the Thai were in all probability already established there. After the conquests of King Anuruddha the Khmer power came to an end; but I think that the Burmese from Pagan kept a real hold over the valley of the Chao Phyā only during the reign of King Anuruddha or for a very short time afterwards. Thai from the North subsequently came down and joined with the earlier Thai settlers in overcoming both the Khmers and the Burmese from Pagan. From that time power over the various states in the lower Chao Phyā valley passed into the hands of the Thai.

For the space of two hundred years, between B. E. 1650 or a little later and B. E. 1850, the Thai who had remained in their original home in Yunnan were gradually losing their independence before the onsets of Kublai Khan and the Mongols who were the conquerors of China and of Burma. On the other hand, the Thai who had emigrated in the direction of Siam rose to a great height of power, the lesser Thai obtaining possession of the valley of the River Chao Phyā and of the whole of the Malay Peninsula. They may perhaps also have acquired at that time territory occupied by the Khmers in the valley of the Mekhong, but we do not yet know exactly where the frontiers of the Thai and the Khmers then met. As regards Burma, soon after the conquest of Pagan by the Mongols in B. E. 1827, the greater Thai obtained dominion over that Kingdom and thus became masters of the land. In Southern Pegu a Thai family which hailed from Sukhodaya—the family of Makatho, who are said by Sir Arthur Phayre in his history of Burma to have been Thai and not Mons—secured possession of the country, over which their kings ruled for several generations throughout the dynasty of King Rajadhiraja.

From an examination of the geography and antiquities of the region, I believe that some nine large states were set up by the Thai who at that period acquired dominion over the lower portion of the valley of the River Chao Phyā. These states were as follows:—On the East Svargalok (Sawankaloke), Sukhodaya (Sukhothai), and Kambaeng Bejr (Kamphaeng Phet); on the West, U Thong, Nagor Pathom, Rājapuri (Ratburi), Bejrpuri (Petchaburi), Jayā (Chaiya), and Nagor Cṛi Dharmarāj (Nakhon Si Thammarat).

We do not know what was originally the religion of the Thai. Such records as we have tell us that the Thai, including those in China as well as those who settled in the valleys of the Mekhong and of the Chao Phyā, or in those of the Salwin and the Irawaddy, were all of them followers of the Buddhist faith. When the Thai came down and made themselves masters of the lower valley of the Chao Phyā, the religion professed by the people of those parts then probably consisted of a mixture of Buddhism and Brahmanism. The doctrines of the former were observed, but the cosmogony

accepted was that of the Brahman teachers, whose religion was accordingly held in reverence. The Thai on their arrival must have adopted the religious beliefs and the customs of the original population.

As regards the various legends which are reproduced in our Northern annals, such as those of Phya Kong and Phya Bhan, of Phra Phan Vassā, of King Sāi Nam Phūng and of Phra Ruang, I believe that they date from the days when the Thai were in process of establishing themselves in the South and that they rest upon a distinct foundation of truth. But they relate to a number of different places, and at first must have taken the form of tales which were narrated orally from one person to another. Afterwards, they were selected and were brought together so as to make a connected history; but the compiler had no means of discovering the proper sequence of the stories or how far in the course of oral tradition they had deviated from the truth. He merely attempted to arrange the legends which were current into a chronological order of a sort, the result being medley and confusion. This may be seen from an examination of the story of Phya Kong and Phya Bhan. The Northern annals tell us that at first Phya Bhan did not know that Phya Kong was his father; after he had killed the latter he became aware of the relationship and desired to expiate his offence. He was advised for this purpose to build a cetiya which should be as high as a dove can soar. Phya Bhan was unequal to performing this task but, discovering the great cetiya at Nagor Pathom, which was then a deserted city, he surmounted it with a prāṅg the summit of which attained the requisite height. This account assuredly has a basis of truth, for the representation of the cetiya as it once was, which is to be found upon its South side, still exists to-day as evidence of the fact that a prāṅg actually was built on top of the original cetiya. But a story similar to that of Phya Kong and Phya Bhan as related in the Northern annals has been found by His Majesty the present King in Brahmanic literature, from which it appears that the tale is really an account of an incident which occurred long ago in the country of Majjhima. Hence we may perceive that some parallel incident must have taken place in Siam, which was recounted orally from person to

person until the story became confused with the Indian tale as heard from the Brāhmans, the two combining to form one legend. So also with the stories of Phra Ruang Arun Kumāra and of Phra Ruang Suei Nam which are set forth in the Northern annals. From the stone inscriptions and from subsequent investigations we learn that these two legends are in reality one and the same tale, and that they refer to events which actually occurred, though without the portents and marvels related in the annals. They took place shortly before the founding of Ayuddhyā, that is to say, at dates later than those which the annals assign to them.

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### THE HISTORY OF KING U THONG.

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Among the legends which arose at the period when the Thai were establishing themselves in the lower valley of the River Chao Phya, there is one in especial which is connected with the history of Ayuddhyā, namely, the story of how the ancestors of King U Thong came to settle in the South. Both the "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" and the short history of Prince Paramānujit agree in giving the following account.

About the year of the dog 550 of the Chula era (B. E. 1731), there lived a Thai King of the dynasty of King Brahma, (the monarch who first extended the Thai domain by overcoming the Khmers and who took possession of the present provincial circle of Bāyab as far down as Muang Chalieng.) The above-mentioned descendant of King Brahma was named King Jaya Ciri and he reigned at Jaya Prākār. His country was invaded by the Peguans and, being unable to withstand his enemies, he fled Southwards, where he came upon a deserted city named Muang Paeb, in the neighbourhood of Kambaeng Bejr. On the site of this city he established a new capital which was called Traitrings. King Jaya Ciri ruled over Muang Paeb until his death and had been followed by four other monarchs of his dynasty, when King U Thong was born about 160 years afterwards.

In recounting the circumstances attending King U Thong's birth, the short history states that a daughter of the king

of Muang Paeb gave birth to a son the identity of whose father was unknown. On consulting the omens it was ascertained that he was not of royal blood. (The short history states that he was of humble origin and was named Nai Saen Pom.) Being overcome with shame, the King of Muang Paeb thereupon drove his daughter and her son out of the city together with the child's father. The latter was blessed with good fortune and founded the city of Deb Nagor, over which he became ruler in the year of the goat 681 of the Chula era (B. E. 1862) under the title of King Ciri Jaya Chieng Saen. He is said to have made a cradle ( U — ṭ ) of gold ( -thong kham — ทองคำ ) for his son to sleep in it, the child being therefore named Prince U Thong because he lay in a golden cradle. King Ciri Jaya Chieng Saen reigned at Deb Nagor for twenty-five years and died in the year of the monkey 706 of the Chu'a era (B. E. 1887.) He was succeeded by King U Thong.

The Northern annals furnish a different version of King U Thong's life from the above—a version which we have no means of corroborating. They state that, after Phya Kraek had been followed by three successors on the throne, there remained only a Princess to continue the royal line. Two rich nobles named Jōṭaka and Kāla, respectively, then deliberated together and selected the lord U Thong, who was a son of the former, to marry the Princess and to rule over the city (the name of which is not given.) Six years later, the city was visited by a pestilence, whereupon King U Thong abandoned it and founded the city of Ayuddhya at Nong Sanō.

In an account which His Majesty King Mongkut composed and gave to Dr. Dean and which was published in the "Chinese Repository" at Canton in the year of the pig 4213 of the Chula era (A. D. 1851), it is said that King U Thong was the son-in-law of King Ciri Jaya Chieng Saen, that he inherited the throne through his consort and that, when he had reigned for six years, his capital was visited by a pestilence with the result that he set up a new capital at Ayuddhya.

The history of King U Thong, as given in old writings, is as set forth above.

Yet another account is current to this day in the district of Subarnapurī (Suphanburi), according to which King U Thong formerly lived in that neighbourhood, the ruins of the city over which he ruled still existing on the banks of the river Chorakhe Sām Phan between the present town of Subarnapurī and Kāñcanapurī (Kanburi). In the year of the hare 1265 of the Chula era (A. D. 1903), I myself paid a visit to this city of U Thong and found there the traces of an ancient town with the remnants of great walls. The town is very old and must date from the time of the ancient city at Nagor Pathom, for statues of the Buddha and silver coins have been dug up there which are of the same kind as those found at the latter place. It must, however, be of later origin, since it contains traces of monasteries the shape and construction of which shew that they belong to the early period of Ayuddhya. It occurred to me at the time of my visit that by the Subarnabhūmi or Suvarṇabhūmi mentioned on stone inscriptions and in ancient writings may have been meant this very city of U Thong, and not the present town of Subarnapurī which was built subsequently. The word "Suvarṇabhūmi" signifies in the Pāli language "source of gold" ("thong"—ทอง—"gold"), or "place where gold exists." In Siamese this may be rendered by "U thong" (อุ ทอง), just as we talk of "U khao" (อุ ข้าว—a source of rice, a granary) or of "U nam" (อุ น้ำ—a source from which water is supplied, a reservoir.) U Thong may thus have been the Thai equivalent of the name Suvarṇabhūmi. This conclusion led me to the further one that the name King U Thong was not derived from the fact that the bearer of it slept in a golden cradle, as is asserted by the histories; it may have been a name indicating the rulers of the city of U Thong. (Similarly we may speak of the Chief of Chiengmai or of Nān.) Each ruler of U Thong must have borne this title, and therefore the King (of) U Thong who founded Ayuddhyā, (it matters not from what line he may have been descended or what may have been his origin)

previously to the establishment of the new city have ruled at U Thong or, as it is called in Pāli, Suvannabhūmi. The story current to-day among the people of Subarnapurī is thus a true one. I embodied the above considerations in an official report which I drew up on the district in question and which was printed in February of the year of the snake, 1267 of the Chula era (A. D. 1905). The members of the Historical Research Society of Siam afterwards declared their concurrence with my views.

I do not think we can believe the statement in the short history, to the effect that King Jaya Ciri, the ancestor of King U Thong, after he had been vanquished and had suffered the loss of his capital at the hands of the Mahārāja of Sittaung (เมือง သီတອງ), fled with his people and set up a new city at Muang Paeb, which was a deserted town on the opposite bank of the river from Kambaeng Bejr. A monarch who had undergone defeat and lost his territory to an enemy would usually be able only to save his own person. It would be difficult for him, at a time when the enemy was already occupying the approaches to his capital, to escape together with his people. Moreover, it is a far journey from Jaya Prākār to Kambaeng Bejr, and it seems likely that King Jaya Ciri, when his capital had been taken, would have fled accompanied only by his immediate following, as did the King of Dhanapurī when he fled from the Burmans to Jalapurī (Chonburi). King Jaya Ciri must thereafter have settled among the Thai inhabitants who had previously colonised the district to which he escaped, and these, observing that he was of high rank, not improbably chose him for their chief. Further, with reference to the statement in the short history that King Jaya Ciri established his new capital at Muang Paeb, where he founded a dynasty which ruled for 160 years before the birth of King U Thong, my studies into the history of that period have shewn to me that the monarch first mentioned cannot have reigned solely at Muang Paeb. There are several grounds for taking this view and they are as follows.

(1) In the "Phongsāwadān Yonok" the founder of a dynasty who is alleged to have come down to Muang Paeb is called King Jaya



Ciri; in the abridged history of Prince Parameanujit the father of King U Thong is named King Ciri Jaya Chheng Saen. I believe these two names to be identical; the respective compilers of the works in question may have caught the sound differently and have thus made a distinction. Jaya Ciri or Ciri Jaya is also the old name of Nagor Pathom. As I have already explained, it was the ancient custom to call the kings of other countries after the state over which they reigned, as for example the king of U Thong, the Chief of Chhengmai or the Chief of Nān, and this custom has survived until the present time. By the King Jaya Ciri or Ciri Jaya of the Northern records may well have been meant, therefore, the king who ruled over the state of that name, and this consideration leads me to believe that the founder of King U Thong's dynasty settled at Jaya Ciri or Ciri Jaya, i.e., the Nagor Pathom of to-day.

(2) The old records tell us that the founder of King U Thong's dynasty discovered a deserted city, on the site of which he set up his capital. At that period Nagor Pathom had been deserted for nearly a hundred years, ever since the time when King Anuruddha had attacked it and led its inhabitants away into captivity. This circumstance serves further to corroborate my opinion.

(3). In the account written by His Majesty King Mongkut it is stated that King U Thong, before ascending the throne, was the son-in-law of his predecessor. The cities of U Thong and Nagor Pathom are close to one another, and intercourse between them would have been easier than between the former and Deb Nagor, which is said to have been situated at a short distance below Kambacng Bejr and a full ten days' journey from U Thong.

(4). The founder of King U Thong's dynasty is said to have come down and established himself at Muang Paeb in the year B. E. 1731; he and his successors are stated to have reigned over the city for a period of 160 years prior to the birth of King U Thong. As a matter of fact, that period witnessed the rise of the Kingdom of Sukhodaya under four monarchs of the dynasty of

Phra Ruang, and the establishment of a Western capital of the kingdom at Nagor Pu\* upon the site of the present town of Kambaeng Bejr on the bank of the river Me Phing. The ancestors of King U Thong may conceivably have reigned in the neighbourhood of Kambaeng Bejr before Phra Ruang had built up his kingdom, but they could not well have reigned contemporaneously with him after he had done so.

For the above reasons I consider as erroneous the statement appearing in the abridged history of Prince Paramānujit, to the effect that King U Thong's ancestors reigned at Muang Paeb in the neighbourhood of Kambaeng Bejr until the birth of King U Thong himself. I believe that they established themselves at Nagor Pathom, if not at first, then at some later date. I leave it to the student of antiquity to accept my opinion for what it is worth.

At the time of the founding of Ayuddhya by King U Thong in the year B. E. 1893, the territory occupied by the Thai in the valley of the River Chao Phya was divided up between two large independent kingdoms, namely, that of Siam—consisting of the realm of Sukhodaya, with its capital at the city of the same name—and that of Lān Nā Thai—consisting of the realm of Haribhunjaya, with its capital at Chiengmai.

I must give an account, even though it be but a brief one, of these two kingdoms, inasmuch as their history is intimately bound up with, and if known will lead to a better understanding of, the history of Ayuddhya.

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### THE KINGDOM OF SUKHODAYA.

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As far as can be conjectured to-day, the Kingdom of Sukhodaya was established as an independent state about the year of the Chula Era 600, coinciding with the year 1160 of the Great Era (Maha Çakarāj) and with the year 1781 of the

\* "Nagor Pu" is the result of misreading an inscription. The correct form is "Nagor (Phra) Jum." [Translator's Note.]

Buddhist Era. We are accustomed to call every one of the kings of Sukhodaya by the name of Phra Ruang, a fact which might lead to the supposition that there was only one such King. In reality there were five of them throughout the period when Sukhodaya existed as a sovereign state. The first of these monarchs whose name appears is called in a stone inscription Pho\* Khun Cṛi Indraditya. His Majesty the present King, who has made a close study of the Sukhodaya period, is of the opinion that the explanation for our giving to every king of that realm the name of Phra Ruang is to be found in the circumstance that King Cṛi Indraditya was originally so called before he ascended the throne. This sovereign is probably identical with the Phra Ruang Swei Nam of Lavo who is said in the Northern annals to have fled Northwards from the Khmers and to have become king of Sukhodaya; Phra Ruang Swei Nam is stated to have borne the royal name of King Cṛi Candradhipatī, which very much resembles that of Cṛi Indraditya. My own investigations into this period tend to support His Majesty's pronouncement that King Cṛi Indraditya was formerly called Phra Ruang. The custom of thus calling a monarch by his original name is met with later on, as in the cases of (the) King (of) U Thong and of King Mang Long,† and it seems likely that at the time in question King Cṛi Indraditya was by many people similarly known as Phra Ruang. The word "Ruang" (ᨾ᩵ᩁᩬ᩵) here means "bright" (ᨾ᩵ᩁᩬ᩵) and not "to fall off" (ᨾ᩵ᩁᩬ᩵). When the monarch under discussion adopted a Sanskrit name for his official designation, he was called Indraditya, which means in Brahmanic parlance "lord of light." In documents written subsequently in Pali the name Phra Ruang is turned into that language in many ways. The meaning of "bright" is rendered by "Rōcarāja" or by "Aruṇarāja"; the sound "ruang" is in other instances reproduced by words of similar sound in Pāli, such as "Raṅgarāja", "Surāṅgarāja", "Seyyaraṅgarāja", or "Seyyanaṅgarāja." But

\* ᨾ᩵, "father." [Translator's Note].

† Known to Europeans as Alaung Phra.

Further corroboration exists in the statement appearing on the one inscription to the effect that Pegu (Hsinasvatī) became a dependency of Sukhodaya in the reign of King Rāma Khamhaeng.

From the circumstance that Makathō obtained ascendancy over Pegu in the year B. E. 1824 we may infer that King Rāma Khamhaeng was then already seated on the throne of Sukhodaya. Moreover, he must have commenced his reign some years previously, for the tale runs that Makathō remained in the royal service at Sukhodaya until he became a high official before establishing himself in Pegu. It is permissible to assume that King Rāma Khamhaeng ascended the throne not earlier than in the year of the ox 639 of the Chula era (B. E. 1820), that is to say, four years prior to the conquest of Martaban by Makathō.

and the country stretching as far as the outer sea; on the West—Muang Chot, and as we may guess from the inscription, which is here partly obliterated, Tenasserim, Tavoy, Martaban and Toung U, as well as Hamsavati as far as the five seas (*i.e.*, the Bay of Bengal). The above were all included within the frontiers of Sukhodaya in the reign of King Rama Khamhaeng.

It is to be noted that among the states thus mentioned in the stone inscription are not included many which were situated in the modern provincial circle of Bayab, as for example, Haribhunjaya and Chieng Rai. Similarly, we miss the names of Lavo, Ayodhya, Nagor Nayok, Prachin, Jalapuri<sup>1</sup> and Chandapuri<sup>2</sup> in the South-East. All these states at that time probably bore different names from their present ones, but we may believe that they were already in existence. Why then are they omitted from the stone inscription of King Rama Khamhaeng? As regards the states situated within the provincial circle of Bayab we know the true reason, for in the "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" it is stated that at the period in question Khun Meng Rai was in the ascendancy in Lan Nā Thai, where his dominions comprised an independent realm including Khelāng (*i.e.*, the present Nagor Lampang), Haribhunjaya (*i.e.*, the Nagor Lamphūn of to-day), Chiengmai, Chieng Rai and Nagor Ngōn Yāng (นครเงินยาง—*i.e.*, Chieng Saen). Phayao formed another independent state under Khun Ngam Muang and, as will be seen later when I shall have to deal with Lan Nā Thai, both Khun Meng Rai and Khun Ngam Muang were on terms of friendship with King Rama Khamhaeng. For this reason their respective countries did not become subject to Sukhodaya. The omission from the stone inscription of the states lying to the South-East is probably to be explained in a different way. I think that Lavo and Ayodhya were then either abandoned or included within the frontiers of the state of U Thong. The remaining states may perhaps have still formed part of the ancient Khmer empire.

1 Chouburi.

2 Chantaburi.

Among the states subject to Sukhothaya in the reign of King Rāma Khamhaeng many appear to have been governed by feudal princes of their own. This was certainly so in the case of seven of them, namely, Muang Chawa (Luang Phrabāng), Nān, U Thong, Nagor C̣ri Dharmaraj, Martaban, Hamsavati, and Young U. In some instances, the rulers of these states were related to the royal family of Sukhothaya.

In the Chinese records translated by Khun Chen Chin Akshara (Sut Chai), which deal with the treaty relations between Siam and China, our country is called "Hsien Lo." (This name is employed by the Chinese even to-day.) The records explain that "Hsien Lo" consisted formerly of two countries, namely, "Hsien" in the North and "Lo Hu" in the South. Afterwards, "Lo Hu" was conquered by "Hsien," and the two states became merged into one (presumably in the reign of King Phra Parama Rajadhirāja the First of Ayuddhya).<sup>\*</sup> From that time onwards the Chinese name of "Hsien Lo" came into use. The Chinese word "Hsien" is a rendering of "Siam" and undoubtedly signified the kingdom of Sukhothaya. The name of the country called by the Chinese "Lo Hu", which is said to have lain to the South of "Hsien", can only be identified with the word "Lavo." The Chinese may have used this term from the days when Lavo still formed part of the Khmer dominions, or when it was still governed by rulers of the dynasty of King Candajōti. It is, however, remarkable that, according to the Chinese records, "Lo Hu" was existing till as late as the period of King Rāma Khamhaeng, as will be seen from the narrative of events which I am about to furnish. We may conclude that by the Chinese name "Lo Hu" was meant latterly the dominions of the King of U Thong. In the reign of King Rāma Khamhaeng, Lavō and Ayōddhya must have formed part of the King of U Thong's dominions, to which the Chinese applied the designation of "Lo Hu" already in use among them.

<sup>\*</sup> In reality before that King's accession. The actual date was B. E. 1892 (A. D. 1349), that is to say, about the time when Ayuddhya was founded (Professor Huber, B.E.F.E.O. IX, p. 586). [Translator's Note.]

In the following paragraphs I have endeavoured to set forth in order the events occurring under the reign of King Rama Khamhaeng which I have traced in the various records.

In the year of the horse 644 of the Chula Era (B. E. 1825), the Mongol Emperor of China Kublai Khan despatched a mandarin called Ho Tzū Chih on an embassy to "Hsien" for the purpose of cultivating friendly relations.

In the year of the goat 645 of the Chula era (B. E. 1826), the stone inscription tells us that King Rama Khamhaeng devised the Siamese alphabet.

In the year of the dog 648 of the Chula era (B. E. 1829), the "Rajadhiraja" states that King Rama Khamhaeng placed Makatho upon the throne of Martaban with the title of King Fa Rua.

In the year of the pig 649 of the Chula era (B. E. 1830), according to the stone inscription, King Rama Khamhaeng caused the sacred relics at Cī Sajanālaya to be exhumed in order that the people might venerate them; he then placed them in a shrine over which was built a cetiya and surrounded the whole with a wall of rock.

In the year of the ox 651 of the Chula era (B. E. 1832), the Chinese records state that "Lo Hu" (the King of U Thong) despatched a first embassy to China.

In the year of the hare 653 of the Chula era (B. E. 1834), according to the Chinese records, "Lo Hu" despatched a second embassy to China.

In the year of the dragon 654 of the Chula era (B. E. 1835),

\* Or possibly in the year of the cock 647 of the Chula era (B. E. 1828). See Professor Cordes, "Notes critiques sur l'inscription de Rama Khamhaeng", published in the Journal of the Siam Society, volume XII, part 1, p. 19. [Translator's Note.]

the stone inscription tells us that King Rāma Khamhaeng caused the Manang Çilā\* stone seat to be erected.

In the year of the snake 655 of the Chula era (B. E. 1836), the Chinese records state that a second embassy from China came to "Hsien."

In the year of the horse 656 of the Chula era (B. E. 1837), according to the Chinese records, the King of "Hsien," who was named Kan Mu Ting, was summoned to appear at the Imperial Court of China or to send hostages in his stead.

In the year of the goat 657 of the Chula era (B. E. 1838), according to the Chinese records, a first embassy was despatched from "Hsien" to China. At that time "Hsien" was at war with Ma Li Yü Êrh† and the Emperor of China made peace between them.

\* <sup>ᨾᩯ᩵ᩁᩬ᩵ᨾᩮᩥᩁᩬ᩵ᨾᩮᩥᩁ</sup> <sup>ᨾᩯ᩵ᩁᩬ᩵ᨾᩮᩥᩁᩬ᩵ᨾᩮᩥᩁ</sup>. The meaning of this phrase is discussed by Professor Cœdès, *loc. cit.*, pp. 17-18. [Translator's Note.]

† The translator is indebted to Professor Cœdès for the following very interesting note :—

"Here is the full text of the passage :—

"( In 1295 A. D. ) the kingdom of Hsien presented a petition in letters of gold, begging the Court to send a mission into that kingdom. Now, before the arrival of this petition, a mission had already been sent; doubtless, those persons (*i.e.*, the people of Hsien ) were not yet aware of the fact. A tablet of plain gold was given to the envoy to wear at his belt. The envoy returned home immediately; an imperial order sent a mission to go with him. As the people of Hsien had been fighting for a long time previously with the Ma-li-yü-êrh, all parties made their submission at that moment. An imperial order was issued enjoining on the people of Hsien : ' Do not harm the Ma-li-yü-êrh, in order that you may keep your promise.'"  
(Translation by Pelliot, B. E. F. E.-O., IV, p. 242.)

"Professor Pelliot says in a note that the Ma-li-yü-êrh are probably the people of the "Malaiur" of Marco Polo.

"In an important memoir published in the "Journal Asiatique" (May-June and July-August, 1918), Monsieur G. Ferrand seeks to prove that the word "Malūyu," which originally designated the state of Minangkabaw in Sumatra, afterwards came to designate the Malay settlement in the Peninsula, around Malacca. His conclusions, if exact, go to show that, at the period of Rama Khamhaeng, the Thai of Sukhodaya had "a long time previously" reached the South of the Malay Peninsula, and that they



In the year of the monkey 658 of the Chula era (B. E. 1839), the "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" states that Phya Meng Rai founded

had consequently passed beyond Nagor Cī Dharmarāj. It is possible, however, that the struggles between the Thai and the Malays to which the Chinese text alludes may have been waged in a theatre more to the North. Here are my reasons for this supposition.

"The inscription in Cambodian which is engraved upon the base of a statue of the Buddha at Wat PENCHAMPABITRA in Bangkok, and which I have studied in my "ROYAUME DE CRIVIJAYA" (B. E. F. E.-O. XVIII., vi., pp. 33 *et seq.*), is in the name of a king named Mahārāja Cīmat Trailokyarāja Maulibhuṣanavarmadeva. This king, whom I had taken to be a king of San fo-ch'i = Crivijaya = Palembang in Sumatra, is in reality a king belonging to a dynasty which reigned in Malayu = Mirangkabaw in Sumatra in the 13th and 14th centuries A.D. (Vide: N. J. Krom—"Een Sumatraansche Inscriptie van Koning Kṛtanagara"—Verslagen en Mededeelingen, 1916, pp. 327, 333.) Now the above statue was found at Jaiya. Even if that locality is not its true place of origin, it assuredly comes from the North of the Peninsula, for the inscription is in Cambodian and emanates from the country of Grāhi, the Chia-lo-hsi of the Chinese, which we know to have bordered on South-Western Cambodia. Thus, at the period when the statue was cast (probably in the 13th. century), the influence of Malayu, i. e. of Minangkabaw in Sumatra, extended as far up as Jaiya and the Bay of Bandon. The Thai from Sukhodaya in their descent Southwards may, therefore, have entered into conflict with the Malays much further North than Malacca. But that they pushed their raids very far to the South appears from the following passage in the Chinese work "Tao I Chih Lio," composed towards 1350 A.D. :

'The people of Hsien are much given to piracy; whenever there is an uprising in any other country, they at once embark in as many as an hundred junks with full cargo of sago (as food) and start off and by the vigor of their attack they secure what they want. (Thus) in recent years they came with seventy odd junks and raided Tan-ma-hsi (=Tumasik=Singapore or Johore) and attacked the city moat. (The town) resisted for a month, the place having closed its gates and defending itself, and they not daring to assault it. It happened just that an Imperial envoy [of the Chinese Court] was passing by (Tan-ma-hsi), so the men of Hsien drew off and hid, after plundering Hsi-li.' (Translation by Rockhill, T'oung-Pao, XVI, pp. 99-100.)

"To sum up, it is possible that, from the time of Cī Indrāditya, the Thai of Sukhodaya—those bold adventurers—may have reached and gone beyond Nagor Cī Dharmarāj. But even in the time of Rāma Khamhaeng their suzerainty over this region must have been somewhat restricted, since Marco Polo, who visited the country of Nagor Cī Dharmarāj at that very period and who describes it in his book under the name of Locac, (see Ferrand, *loc. cit.*, Journal Asiatique, July-August, 1918, p. 138, note 3), tells us that "it is a good country and rich: and it has a king of its own."

Chiangmai and that he invited Phya Ruang (*i.e.*, King Rāma Khamhaeng), and Phya Ngam Muang, the ruler of Phayao, to come and help him in choosing a site for the new city.

In the year of the cock 659 of the Chula era (B. E. 1840), the Chinese records imply that a second embassy was despatched from "Hsien" to China.

In the year of the rat 662 of the Chula era (B. E. 1843), according to the Chinese records, yet another mission from "Hsien" visited China.

The events of King Rāma Khamhaeng's reign, as known to us from all sources, may be considered from three points of view: (1) that of his internal administration; (2) that of his military conquests; and (3) that of his treaty relations with foreign powers. We shall then see that King Rama Khamhaeng did not merely use his power to bring neighbouring states under subjection to him, but that he was also a zealous supporter of the Buddhist religion and a benefactor of all the Thai in many ways, as is set forth in the stone inscription dating from his reign. His most important achievement was the invention of the Siamese alphabet, whereby he rendered to the Siamese people a signal service the effects of which are felt to this very day. As regards his relations with foreign states, the following is to be noted. We have positive evidence to show that intercourse between Siam and India existed from the commencement of the Buddhist era or even earlier. Later on, visitors to this country came from Ceylon upon business connected with religious matters; Chāms, Javanese, Malays and finally Chinese also entered into intercourse with Siam from an early period. But there are no records other than the Chinese records already quoted which indicate with certainty what treaty relations, if any, had been set up between our own country and other states. At the period with which the Chinese records deal, however, the Emperors of the Yüan dynasty were in power and had conquered all the regions adjacent to China down as far as Siam. The reigning Emperor, hearing probably that Sukhodaya

(called "Hsien" by the Chinese) was a powerful state in our part of the world, despatched a first embassy for the purpose of establishing intercourse with its monarch in the year B. E. 1825. Our Northern annals advance the statement that Phra Ruang himself visited China and brought back with him Chinese potters who were the makers of the Saṅgalōk ware. Although this alleged journey on the part of Phra Ruang may not be credited, it is true that Saṅgalōk pottery exists and there can be no doubt that it was manufactured by Chinese artificers both at Svargalok (Sawankaloke) and at Sukhodaya. The artificers in question may well have accompanied one or other of the missions sent to China on their return to the latter city.

No record is to be found anywhere of the date of King Rāma Khamhaeng's death; we know only that he was succeeded on the throne by his son King Lō Thai\* who reigned until the year of the horse 716 of the Chula Era (B. E. 1897), when he died. But the "Rājādhirāja" affords us an indication which enables us to guess at the respective lengths of the reigns of King Rāma Khamhaeng and of King Lō Thai. The history in question states that King Fa Rua died in the year of the ox 675 of the Chula era (B. E. 1856) and was succeeded by his younger brother Makatā. The latter sent to request that His Majesty Phra Ruang would confer upon him a royal title, as had been done in the case of King Fa Rua, and received the name of King Rāma Pradōt (Pratishtha?). We may infer from this that in the year B. E. 1856 King Rāma Khamhaeng was still alive. We learn further from the "Rājādhirāja" that, one year after his accession, King Rāma Pradōt was killed by his brother-in-law Saming Mang La, who placed upon the throne his own eldest son, Prince Āo, a grandson of King Fa Rua. This event occurred in the year of the tiger 676 of the Chula era (B. E. 1857), and Prince Āo received from His Majesty Phra Ruang the name of King Saen Muang Ming. In the year just mentioned, therefore, we may again take it that King Rāma Khamhaeng was not yet dead. The "Rājādhirāja" goes on to say that, in the year of the horse 680 of the Chula era

\* See second footnote on page 52. [Translator's Note.]

(B. E. 1861), King Saen Muang Ming invaded Tavoy and Tenasserim; it may be assumed that this took place after King Rāma Khamhaeng's death, for during his lifetime King Saen Muang Ming would scarcely have dared to invade territory comprised within the realm of Sukhodaya. Basing our conclusions upon the dates thus furnished, we must infer that King Rāma Khamhaeng died about the year of the snake 679 of the Chula era (B. E. 1860) after a reign of some forty years, and that his son and successor King Lō Thai reigned for a further period of thirty-six years\* after him

King Lō Thai† is known by many names. In a stone inscription which employs the Siamese language he is called Phya Sīa Thai; in the Traibhūmi of Phra Ruang he appears as Phya Leli Thai; in the stone inscription written in the Khmer language he is named Rūthai Jaya Jettha; whilst in the composition styled "Jinakālamālinī" his name is given as Udakajjhōtthatarāja (meaning "the lord who was drowned," an appellation which serves to identify him with the King who is said in the Northern annals to have fallen into the water and to have disappeared.)

We know little of the reign of King Lō Thai, inasmuch as no stone inscriptions of that period have been found.

\* See, however, footnote on page 53. [Translator's Note.]

† Professor Cœdes points out that the name Rūthai Jaya Jettha is not to be found in the Khmer inscription, but that it appears to have been arbitrarily inserted in the Siamese translation of that inscription made by order of His Majesty the late King Mongkut. Similarly, he shews that the rendering Phya Sīa Thai is due to the mistaken reading of the letter "s" for "l" in the inscription of Nagor Jum. Professor Cœdes concludes that the name of this monarch should properly be written

เลอไทย = Lō Thai; he regards as doubtful the identity of the king designated Udakajjhōtthata by the "Jinakālamālinī." (See "Documents sur la Dynastie de Sukhodaya."—B.E.F.E.-O., XVII, ii.) [Translator's Note.]

But such indications as exist lead us to believe that after King Rāma Khamhaeng's death the power of Sukhōdaya began steadily to wane. We learn from the Burmese annals that, in the year of the horse 692 of the Chula era (B. E. 1873), after the death of King Saen Muang Ming, Pegu revolted and that King Lō Thai endeavoured unsuccessfully to quell the rebellion. But although the whole of Pegu then regained its independence, the Burmese annals state that the Thai recovered Tavoy and Tenasserim. These events apparently took place after the founding of Ayuddhya by King U Thong, and it may perhaps have been his forces, and not those of the King of Sukhōdaya, which gained possession of the two provinces just mentioned, bringing them thereby for the first time under subjection to Ayuddhya.

In the stone inscription written in the Khmer language which was set up by King Kamrateng Añ Çri Sūryavaṃṣa Rāma (i.e. Phya Li Thai Mahādharmarāja), the following account is given. In the year of the pig 709 of the Chula era (B. E. 1890),\* King Lō Thai appointed his son Phya Li Thai, who had received the name of Phra Çri Dharmarāja, to be Viceroy over the province of

\* The account which follows would appear to be based on a misunderstanding of the Khmer inscription, arising out of the translation made by King Mongkut's pandits. The inscription merely says:—"1269 çaka [B. E. 1890] (year of the) pig, His Majesty Lidaivaraja, who is the grandson of His Majesty Çri Rāmarāja, led all his troops out of Çri Sajanalaya.....to provide exactly for.....Friday the fifth day of the waxing moon of jetha (sic). At that moment the King ordered .....to lead.....blood, took all the gates (?), the axe.....struck the enemy.....Then afterwards the King diverted himself .....supremacy.....Sukbodaya (?)......succeeding to his father and to his grandfather.....(The sovereigns) of the four cardinal points had.....(gave to him) the white umbrella, sprinkled him and gave to him the name of Brah Pāda Kamraten Añ Çri Sūryavaṃṣa Rāma Mahadharmaṛajadhiraja." (Cœdès, *loc. cit.*, page 13.) It will be seen that, in connection with all the above events, the inscription mentions only one year (B. E. 1890) which, as Professor Cœdès points out, was that of King Li Thai's coronation (abhiṣeka.) His father, King Lō Thai, was presumably already dead at that date. It seems probable that King Li Thai had for seven years previously ruled over Çri Sajanalaya in the capacity of Uparaja during King Lō Thai's lifetime. [Translator's Note.]

Çrī Sajanālaya : (three years afterwards, in the year of the tiger 712 of the Chula era—B. E. 1893—King U Thong founded Ayud-dhyā.) When Phra Çrī Dharmarāja had held the office of Viceroy for seven years, i.e. in the year of the horse 716 of the Chula era (B. E. 1897), King Lö Thai fell ill. (The language of the stone inscription would seem to indicate that disturbances had broken out at Sukhodaya at that time and that an attempt was being made upon the throne.) On learning the serious state of his father's health, Phra Çrī Dharmarāja set out with an army from Çrī Sajanālaya on the fifth day of the waxing moon and reached Sukhodaya on the first day of the waning moon in the eighth month. (The distance from Çrī Sajanālaya to Sukhodaya is not more than 75 miles; Phra Çrī Dharmarāja spent eleven days upon the journey and must have encountered opposition on the way.) The stone inscription goes on to relate how Phra Çrī Dharmarāja entered with his army through the North-Western gate of the city, and how, after subduing his enemies and putting to death such as had harboured evil designs, he ascended the throne in place of his father, who had in the meantime passed away. We must assume from the above narrative that Phra Çrī Dharmarāja did not come by his crown easily and that he had to deal with some trouble, the details of which are unknown to us. He was crowned under the royal name of King Çrī Sūryavamça Rāma Mahādharmika-rajādhirāja : in other documents he is called either Phya Li Thai after his original name, or else Phra Mahadharmarāja. The stone inscriptions extol the virtues of this monarch at great length; in the following paragraphs I have embodied the gist of the information so furnished in regard to him, and I have endeavoured to corroborate it by means of particulars gleaned from other sources.

(1). Phra Mahādharmarājā Li Thai was well versed in the Tripitaka (as is evidenced by the Traibhūmi of Phra Ruang which was framed at his instigation and has been printed in later times.)

(2). He was skilled in astrology and was able to cast the calendar with precision. (The statement in the Northern annals that Phra Ruang changed the era of reckoning may perhaps refer

to Phra Ruang Li Thai. Evidence to this effect is supplied by the fact that the Traibhūmi of Phra Ruang purports to have been drawn up in the year of the cock, "the 23rd. of the era." I have heard of no other King of Sukhodaya changing the era of reckoning.)

(3). He was versed in vedic ritual and was the first to observe the system laid down in the Sātragama. (There is perhaps a connection here with the series of monthly festivals which are stated in the book of the Lady Nabamās to have been held at Sukhodaya.)

(4). He built a royal residence of brick faced with plaster. (The Lady Nabamās gives the names of the royal residences at Sukhodaya as follows:—Indrābhisheka, Atirekabhiranya, Uttamarājākti, Jayajambhala, Jalavimāna, Vicālasaurasa, Ratananārī, and Crī Apsaras. All the above names have a very modern sound: but, if the buildings thus designated really existed, they must have dated from the period now under discussion and the Lady Nabamās must have been one of the concubines (พระสนม) of King Phra Ruang Mahādharमारāja Li Thai.)

(5). After the erection of his royal residence, King Phra Mahādharमारāja arranged for monks to study the Tripitaka and for Brahmans to study the vedic arts and sciences within its precincts. (It would seem that this refers to the establishment of a school. In the third reign of the present dynasty a similar custom prevailed of arranging for monks to study the sacred texts within the royal palace.)

(6). King Phra Mahādharमारāja sent a mission to bring away certain relics of the Buddha from Ceylon. This statement is corroborated by the other stone inscription which records how, on Friday the fifth day of the waxing moon in the eighth month of the year of the cock 711 of the Nula era (B. E. 1800), King Phra Mahādharma

shrine for the reception of sacred relics at Nagor Jum (an old city, the site of which is that of the present town of Kambaeng Bejr.)

(7). In the year of the ox 723 of the Chula era (B. E. 1904). King Mahādharmarājā despatched learned men to invite the Patriarch Mahā Svāmī to come from Ceylon to Sukhodaya, whither he repaired and resided at the Pā Manuang (Ambavanārama) monastery. At the close of Lent in that same year a festival was held to celebrate the casting in "samriddhi" metal (សំរិទ្ធិ) of a life-sized statue of the Buddha, which was installed in the centre of the city of Sukhodaya to the East of the shrine enclosing the sacred relics preserved there. (This statue of the Buddha was probably the one known as Phra Cṛī Sakyanunī or as the great statue of the Sudasna monastery, which without doubt was originally set up in the vihāra mentioned in the stone inscription. By "life-sized" is meant of the dimensions then ascribed to the person of the Buddha. Phra Mahādharmarājā Li Thai was an adept at calculation, as may be seen from the computation of the age of the Buddhist religion on the stone inscription of Nagor Jum.)

(8). In the year of the ox 723 of the Chula era (B. E. 1904), King Phra Mahādharmarājā adopted the life of a hermit, and was subsequently received into the novitiate by the Patriarch Mahā Svāmī in the Royal Palace. Later he proceeded, together with a chapter of the clergy, to the Pā Manuang monastery where he was received into full orders as a monk. The stone inscription tells us that, when he was being ordained, there was an earthquake accompanied by various other miraculous disturbances of nature, which the learned men in the King's service recorded by means of the inscription, in order that his merits might become known. We do not know how long King Phra Mahādharmarājā remained in holy orders.\* [The stone inscription merely says that,

\* The next few sentences—enclosed within brackets—advance statements which are not to be found in the Khmer inscription; they appear only in the so-called translation prepared for King Mongkut. [Translator's Note.]



at the instance of the military and civil officers of state, he abandoned the religious life and was crowned a second time under the style of King *Çrī Mahādharmaikarājādhirāja*. From the Patriarch *Mahā Svānī* he also received the additional designations of King *Çrī Traibhavadharaṇī Jitasuriyajōti Mahādharmaikarājādhirāja*.

(9). In memory of his royal father, King *Phra Mahādharmarājā* caused canals to be dug and a road to be constructed leading from *Sukhodaya* to *Çrī Sajanālaya* and to a number of other towns large and small.] This road is still known as *Phra Ruang's* highway and runs from *Kambaeng Bejr* to *Sukhodaya* and from thence on to *Svargalōk*. His Majesty the present King, whilst he was still Crown Prince, traversed its whole length and has given a detailed account of the cities through which it passes in his "Journey through the country of *Phra Ruang*."

The stone inscription proclaims the state of prosperity which existed at *Sukhodaya* during the reign of King *Mahādharmarājā*: it tells us that the citizens were happy, that there was no slavery and that no foes came to disturb the peace. In brief, it may be said that, just as King *Rāma Khamhaeng* distinguished himself as an administrator and by the way in which he extended his dominions and augmented his power at the expense of his enemies, so also the just King *Mahādharmarājā Li Thai* was equally distinguished by the manner in which he governed his realm through the power of righteousness.

It is not known in what year King *Mahādharmarājā Li Thai* died; towards the end of his reign the history of *Sukhodaya* becomes linked up with that of *Ayuddhya*, as will be explained later when dealing with the reign of His Majesty *Rāmādhīpatī* the First. It is my opinion that his death occurred shortly before that of the last named monarch. According to the "*Phongsāwadān Yōnok*" he was succeeded by his son, called *Phyā Sai Lū Thai*, who is called *Phra Mahādharmarājā* of *Bisnulok* (*Pitsanulok*).

history of Ayuddhya. It was he who engaged in war with His Majesty Paramarajādhirāja the First.

All the written documents agree with the stone inscriptions in stating that the Kings who ruled over Sukhodaya during the period of its independence were five in number. To these may be added a sixth in the person of Phra Mahādharmarājā of Bisnulok who has just been mentioned.

I would here beg for an opportunity of correcting a mistake which I have made elsewhere, and more especially in my preface to the Traibhūmi of Phra Ruang. I have stated that the King of Sukhodaya named Phya Li Thai is a different personage from King Ūrī Sūryavamaṇṇa Rāma. As a matter of fact, these two names designated the same monarch. My error was due to an incorrect reading of the dates appearing on the stone inscription of Nagor Jum. I have but recently ascertained that both names without doubt belonged to the same king.

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#### THE REGION OF LĀN NĀ THAI.

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The region of Lān Nā Thai consisted of what is now the Provincial Circle of Bāyab which, as I have already stated, was originally inhabited by the Lāo. Exact authorities are lacking for the history of this region during the Lāo period, inasmuch as no Lāo antiquities or stone inscriptions exist for us to examine. Phya Prajākieh Korachakr (Chaem Bunnāk) has endeavoured in the "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" to collect and collate the various written accounts which have been found in the Northern portion of the original Lāo country. There are many such accounts, among them being the story of Suvarṇa Khōm Kham, the story of Sinhānavatī, and compositions in the Pāli language like the story of Chāma-uvivongs or the Jinakālamālinī. But all these works were

composed by Thai authors after the country had fallen under the sway of the Thai, the writers stating that they had gathered their materials from local tradition. A study of them shews that they cannot in the least degree be regarded as constituting authorities, even approximately accurate, for the history of this part of Siam during the time when the Lāo were masters of it; this statement applies equally to dates, to the names of persons and to the names of places. As I have said previously, we know in a general way that the Northern portion of Siam was occupied formerly by inhabitants of Lāo race. When the Khmers had pushed their frontiers Northwards, the Khmer ruler who resided at Lavō is said to have despatched his daughter, the Princess Chāmadevī, to govern the city of Haribhūñjaya (the present Nagor Lamphun), which became a seat of government in the North under the Khmers of Lavō and included within its jurisdiction all the Lao in Bāyab. Truth can scarcely attach to the Northern legend that, at the request of the people of Haribhūñjaya, the King of Lavō sent the Princess Chāmadevī away from her husband to rule over them at a time when she was pregnant. It seems more probable that he despatched his son-in-law, the consort of his daughter, to govern Haribhūñjaya, and that the Princess accompanied him. After founding the state of Haribhūñjaya, the Khmers established yet other colonies in Bāyab, of which the chief one was at Nagor Lampang (then known as Nagor Khelāng). Later, according to the Northern accounts, began the gradual invasion by the Greater and the Lesser Thai of the Northern part of the Lāo country. A short time subsequently to the year B. E. 1600, however, when King Anuruddha had advanced into the valley of the River Chao Phya, the Lao succeeded in setting up an independent state once more at Chieng Saen. The Northern accounts say that the founder of the dynasty which reigned there at that period was named Lāo Chok; compositions in the Pāli language call him Lava Chakkarāja and state that he had many successors who ruled over the Northern portion of the Provincial Circle of Bāyab. One of these, named Khun Chūang, extended his conquests as far as Luang Phrabāng and Annam and was killed in warfare. The Northern assert that the dynasty of Lava Chakkarāja con-

over Northern Bāyab until the time of Khun Meng Rāi (who founded Chiengmai in the year B. E. 1839) and of Khun Ngam Muang, (the King of Phayso), both of whom were independent monarchs and contemporaries of King Rāms Khamhsang. I believe, however, that Khun Meng Rāi and Khun Ngam Muang were in reality Thai who came down to settle in those parts at the same period as other colonists of Thai race were establishing themselves in the South. I do not think that they were Lao, as the Northern accounts assert, for the region included within the Provincial Circle of Bāyab lay even then between country held by the Thai both to the North and to the South of it; Thai from the North would be obliged to traverse it when going to settle in the South, and it is not likely that the Lao could have retained their mastery over intermediate territory thus situated. In my opinion, what probably happened was this. When King Anuruddha had carried his conquests into the valley of the Chao Phyā, the Lāo under Lava Chakkarāja regained their independence soon after the year B. E. 1600, but did not keep it for many generations. Then the Thai obtained possession of the country, which remained in their power thenceforward, and acquired from that circumstance the name of Lān Nā Thai.

Phyā Ngam Muang, King of Phayao, whom the astrologers records state to have been born on Thursday, the 15th day of the waxing moon in the 6th month of the year of the dog, 600 of the Chūla era (B. E. 1781.) The other was Phyā Meng Rāi, King of Ngōn Yāng, who, according to the records of the astrologers, was born on Sunday, the 9th day of the waning moon in the 3rd month of the same year. The "Phongsāwadan Yōnok" states that Phyā Ngam Muang was a friend of Phra Ruang of Sukhōdaya, (the time is that of King Rāma Khamhaeng), with whom he had studied under the same preceptor and whom he resembled in his miraculous gifts. Phra Ruang paid frequent visits to him at Phayao and finally became the lover of his Queen (นาง งาม). Phyā Ngam Muang discovered this intrigue and called upon Phyā Meng Rāi to adjudicate in the matter. Seeing that a quarrel was threatened which must involve the respective countries of Phra Ruang and of Phyā Ngam Muang in war, Phyā Meng Rāi reconciled the disputants and all three monarchs thereupon swore an oath of friendship for the future.

The above account resembles that given in the Northern Annals, where it is said that Phra Ruang (Aruṇa Kumāra), by following the string of a kite, visited the daughter of Phyā (พญา) Tong U. The two stories probably refer to the same incident.

According to the "Phongsāwadan Yonok" Phyā Meng Rāi founded the city of Chīeng Rāi, at which he established his capital and where he resided for a period. Subsequently, he wrested Haribhujaya from Phyā (พญา) Yī Bā and then founded Chīengmai in the year of the monkey 658 of the Chula era (B. E. 1839), during the reign of King Rāma Khamhaeng of Sukhōdaya. The "Phongsawadān Yōnok" states further that, when about to do this, he invited Phra Ruang and Phyā Ngam Muang, the lord of Phayao, to help him in choosing a site for the new city. Chīengmai became thenceforth the

the capital of Lān Nā Thai for the remainder of King Meng Rāi's reign.

We may accept as true the account appearing in the "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" as to the friendly relations existing between Sukhodaya on the one hand and Chiengmai and Phayao on the other, for it is to be noted that the stone inscription of King Rāma Khamhaeng omits the names of any cities situated in these two kingdoms of the Lān Nā Thai region from the list of states which owned allegiance to him.

The "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" goes on to say that King Meng Rāi died in the year of the snake 679 of the Chula era (B. E. 1860.) He had three sons, of whom the eldest was named Chao Khrūang. This prince plotted against his father and was executed. The second son was called Chao Khram and distinguished himself by effecting the conquest of Nagor Khelāng; as a reward, King Meng Rāi conferred upon him the title of Phra Jaya Songram and appointed him to rule over Chieng Rāi. The third son, who was named Chao Khrūa and who was governor of Muang Phrāo, was guilty of misconduct with the wife of Phra Jaya Songrām. For this reason King Meng Rāi banished him to Muang Pai, of which place he became governor. On the death of King Meng Rāi, Phra Jaya Songrām succeeded to the throne. Not caring to reside at Chiengmai, as soon as the rites in connection with his own accession and with the funeral of his father were completed, he entrusted the government of that city to his eldest son Chao Saen Bhū and himself returned to Chieng Rāi, which once more became the capital of Lān Nā Thai. Chao Khrūa, who had been banished to Muang Pāi, afterwards advanced with an army against Chiengmai, which he captured. King Jaya Songrām in his turn then despatched troops under the command of his second son, Chao Nam Thuom, to regain possession of the city. Chao Nam Thuom succeeded in this task and was himself appointed governor. Later, as King Jaya Songrām had become distrustful of him, he was banished to Muang Khemaratha (i.e. Keng Tung), and Chao Saen Bhū was installed as governor of Chiengmai again.

King Jaya Songram died in the year of the hare 689 of the Chula era (B. E. 1870.) He was followed on the throne by Chao Saen Bhū, who handed over the government of Chiengmai to his son Chao Kham Fū and took up his own residence at Chieng Rāi. King Saen Bhū afterwards built a city at Chieng Saen (formerly known as Ngön Yang), and made of it the capital of Lān Nā Thai.

King Saen Bhū died in the year of the dog 696 of the Chula era (B. E. 1877.) His successor was King Kham Fū who, after appointing his son Chao Phā Yū to be governor of Chiengmai, proceeded to take up the reins of government at Chieng Saen.

King Kham Fū died by drowning in the year of the dragon 702 of the Chula era (B. E. 1883) and was succeeded by Chao Phā Yū. The latter, after nominating his son Tū Nā as governor of Chiengmai, reigned at Chieng Saen for a period of five years. In the year of the cock 707 of the Chula era (B. E. 1888), he returned, however, to Chiengmai where he established his capital. He died in the year of the goat 729 of the Chula era (B. E. 1910.)

Nān and Phrae were not included in Lān Nā Thai, since they were dependencies of Sukhodaya. As regards Phayao, after Phya Ngam Muang had been followed as king by two successors, that state was absorbed and became one kingdom with the rest of Lān Nā Thai.

Such was the history of Lān Nā Thai prior to the founding of Ayuddhyā by King U Thong.

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#### HOW KING U THONG CAME TO FOUND AYUDDHYA.

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From the preceding account of the history of Siam prior to the founding of Ayuddhyā by King U Thong, it has been seen that U Thong was originally a state which acknowledged the suzerainty of Sukhodaya. When, in the reign of King Lī Thai, the power of Sukhodaya began to wane, most of the states subject to that kingdom must have harboured the idea of establishing their independence. They were, how

them equally strong. The weaker among them, realising that they could not hope to succeed in any such endeavour, turned their attention solely to the question of preserving their existence. Even the larger and stronger states were obliged to husband their resources for long in advance, and those which achieved their object were few in number, inasmuch as capable leadership was necessary in addition to material strength. U Thong was probably one of these larger feudatory states, and we may believe that the idea of establishing its independence occurred to the predecessor on the throne of King U Thong Rāmādhīpati. The former monarch, observing the latter to be fitted by reason of his abilities to aid him in this plan, may well have given his daughter to him in marriage on that account. My reason for thinking that the idea of independence dated from the predecessor of King U Thong Rāmādhīpati is as follows. When King U Thong founded Ayuddhya, it was not necessary for him to engage in conflict with any of the neighbouring states: his frontiers extended on the South down through the Malay Peninsula; on the West he was master of Tenasserim and Tavoy; on the North his borders stretched as far as Muang Sarga; whilst on the East they reached to the frontier of the Khmer dominions. For the acquisition of so large a territory as this, a longer period must have been required than the six years during which King U Thong Rāmādhīpati reigned prior to the founding of Ayuddhya. I believe that that sovereign's predecessor, perceiving that the power of Sukhōlaya was declining irrecoverably, and fearing that the Mons and the people of Chīengmai might design to seize possession of the states lying towards the South, had himself set about uniting those states under his own sway many years before. In any event, after the Mons had regained their independence, U Thong must under the reign of King U Thong Rāmādhīpati's predecessor have at least made some stand against Sukhōlaya.

More than one reason may be adduced to account for the erection of his capital at Ayuddhya by King U Thong Rāmādhīpati. In the first place the bed of the Chorakhe Sām Phan River was silting up, owing to the fact that the water was seeking a new



channel along the course of the Subarna River. (The modern town of Subarna is called Bandhumpuri in an old map appearing in the Traibhūmi.) There was thus a growing scarcity of water at U Thong which the digging of many reservoirs did not suffice to alleviate, and which resulted in the outbreak of fevers and finally of a pestilence. King U Thong, being unable to find a remedy for this state of affairs, must have been obliged to abandon the city and to transfer his capital elsewhere, as stated in the story of Subarna. A second and a true cause for the transfer of the capital to the site of the ancient city of Ayōddhya\* is assigned in the short history of Prince Paramanujit, namely, the abundant resources of the district in question. But there was a still further reason for the selection of this spot. The land from Ayuddhya upwards consisted in great part formerly of low and marshy ground near the sea. Travellers by the Northern Railway at the present time, if they take note, will observe at Bān Phra Kaeo a rise in the ground which marks the old sea-coast. Lobpuri, when it was first built, stood upon the sea, and even the city at Phra Pathom and the city of U Thong were not far distant from it at the time of their foundation. But the *detritus* brought down by the volume of water flowing from above caused the sea-bed to silt up, as is happening to-day at the mouth of the River Chao Phyā, where the sea-bed and low-lying mud are being converted into raised land and the channel through which the water flows is gradually becoming the bed of the river. When King U Thong set up his capital at Ayōddhya, all the principal water-courses of the region met together at that place, which thus derived importance as being situated at the mouth of a river and as being the gateway to the whole of the North from Sukhōdaya up to Chīngmai. In a similar way, Bangkok later on became in its turn the capital of Siam. Owing to the importance which thus again attached to Ayōddhya as a centre of communication, King U Thong selected the site of that old city for his new capital.

\* อโยธยา — not to be confused with Ayuddhya

[Translator's note.]

The casual reader of the history of Siam may think that, when King U Thong came to Ayodhdhya, he straightway set about building a city upon the place where Ayuddhyā now stands and that he constructed his palace on the confines of Nong Sānō (i. e. Būng Phra Rama.) As a matter of fact such was not the case. A careful perusal of the history will shew that King U Thong on his first arrival built a small city at the spot which is occupied to-day by the Buddhai Savarya monastery. I gather from the dates appearing in the records of the astrologers that King U Thong first of all set up a city at Wieng Lek (เวียงเหล็ก — where the Buddhai Savarya monastery was afterwards built), in the year of the pig 709 of the Chula era (B. E. 1890), and that he remained there for three years. When he perceived that the time was ripe for an open declaration of independence, he founded the city of Ayuddhyā, performing the rites of accession and proclaiming his assumption of the prerogatives of sovereignty in the year of the tiger (really in that of the hare), being the second of the decade, 712 of the Chula era (B. E. 1893).

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## PREHISTORICAL RESEARCHES IN SIAM

by

FRITZ SARASIN.

While the Prehistory of the French possessions in Indo-China and of the British part of the Malay Peninsula has been carefully investigated, the enormous kingdom of Siam, comprising 518,000 square kilometers, situated between the two above mentioned countries, has, as far as prehistory is concerned, been left practically unknown. Only a certain number of polished neolithic axe-heads, discovered by chance, have been collected; but never has a real scientific search for such objects been made. In 1926 *I. H. N. Evans* (9) has described and pictured five neolithic axe-heads found near Chong in the Siamese part of the Malay Peninsula. Later on in 1931, the same author (12) described five other stone-axes and two large stone-pounders, discovered in a tin-mine of the Surat District. They are again reproduced in a publication of *A. Kerr* and *E. Seidenfaden* (21). These authors mention that polished axe-heads have been found in the northern, eastern and southern parts of Siam, but never in the great central plain. The absence of such discoveries in Central Siam is certainly due to the fact that the Menam river covers every year during the rainy season the entire plain with mud, exactly like the Nile in lower Egypt.

In the exceedingly rich and beautifully arranged National-Museum of Bangkok, which the city owes to the great wisdom and never failing energy of His Royal Highness *Prince Damrong*, a certain number of neolithic axe-heads are shown. Many of them have been found in the district of Luang Prabang already outside of the confines of Siam; others come from the country around Petjaburi, and quite a number from the Siamese part of the Malay Peninsula. Another collection of neolithic axe-heads is in the possession of *Mr. R. Havmøller* in Bangkok. In the two collections one is rather surprised to find only very few so-called shoulder-axes besides quite a number of axes of ordinary shape. In the Museum for instance there are only three small shoulder-axes which have been found in to-day Siam in the vicinity of Petjaburi. In the southern part of

the Malay Peninsula this form is completely unknown, whereas in Indo-China shoulder-axes have been collected by thousands (H. Mansuy, 26, p. 6). There can be no doubt that the shoulder-axe has been brought to Siam from the North-East.

Prehistorical fragments of Pottery of the province of Surat have been described by *Evans* (13), also rock-paintings of unknown age discovered in eastern Siam by *Kerr* (18). This is about all we know up to date concerning the Prehistory of Siam.

From a paper of *Kerr* and *Seidenfaden* (21, p. 80) I quote the following passage: "So far no palaeolithic implements have been found within the confines of present day Siam. However, as no systematic research work has hitherto been undertaken, there may be lying a rich harvest, only awaiting discovery, especially in the caves which abound in the limestone hills in western and northern Siam."

A geological map of Siam has not yet been made. This fact can easily be understood when one considers that about 70% of the surface of the kingdom is still forest-clad land (*Kerr*, 19, p. 35). From a prehistorical point of view the limestone formation containing caves is naturally of primary interest. The limestone formation furnishes one of the most striking features of Siamese landscape. Their outcrops extend intermittently from the southern border of the kingdom in the Malay Peninsula at least as far north as Chiengrai, forming steep hills or small indented chains of moderate height, rising like islands from the surrounding plain. A typical example of such a limestone hill is figured in an article of *Kerr* (20, p. 14). This limestone is a very hard and often crystallized rock of a light or deep blue colour and of Permo-carboniferous age, to be judged from the few fossils hitherto collected (*Kerr*, 20, *Garrett*, 15). Just as important for the Prehistorian is the abundance of intrusive rocks, Basalt, Rhyolithe, Greenstones and so on contained in the Siamese mountains.

The caves which abound in the limestone hills are not seldom quite beautiful, forming enormous domes adorned with mighty stalactites. Others are only like narrow passages, and still others are

simply shelters with overhanging rocks. The Prehistorian meets in Siam for his research work with the very great difficulty that all the caves promising good results have been transformed into buddhistic sanctuaries. They usually contain only one enormous statue of the great teacher. Others however are richly decorated and contain a number of images and altars for offerings. Many of these sanctuaries have a floor made of stone-slabs or of cement. Quite frequently a brick-wall with a door closes the cave from the outside. Needless to say that in these sanctuaries it is absolutely forbidden to undertake any research work. Other caves serve as dwellings for hermits. If one does not want to hurt the religious feeling of the people, the caves, where a research could be undertaken, are the most unfavorable objects. In French Indo-China, also a buddhistic country, this difficulty apparently does not exist. Miss *Colani*, who made numberless excavations in Tonkin-caves, mentions only two cases when she was forced to abstain from digging on account of the religious feelings of the people being hurt.

My first task was to look for caves where digging was possible. My companion and nephew *Rod. Iselin* and myself went first to Chiengmai in the northern part of the kingdom, distant from Bangkok about 750 km. The city of Chiengmai, situated in the wide and fertile valley of the Meping, lies at an altitude of approximately 300 m. With the great number of its temples and temple ruins it makes the impression of a buddhistic Rome. A cave was mentioned to us in a hill not far from the village of Chom Tong, 58 km to the South of Chiengmai. The cave is approached from the top of the hill. It works straight downward into the mountain. Mighty curtains of stalactites and enormous pillars of stalagmites give to the place a most picturesque appearance, and in the dark background reposes a beautiful bronze statue of Buddha. As the floor of the cave was wet and covered with earth washed down through the opening by heavy rains, digging would have meant a long and difficult undertaking; furthermore the presence of a venerated statue of Buddha made of this place a shrine sacred to the people. However I believe that a careful research would have met

with success, because at the foot of this hill, on the bank of a small river I found a "coup de poing" which most likely had been lost by an old cave-dweller.

From Chiengmai we went to Chiengrai, situated near the boundary of the French district of Luang Prabang. This city lies on the right bank of the Mekok river, a tributary to the Mekong, and is at an altitude of approximately 380 m. In a westerly direction high mountain ranges appear with, in the foreground, isolated limestone hills. One of these hills called Doi Tam Pra, with its famous cave, aroused principally our interest. This dome-shaped and forest-clad hill lies at a distance of 4 to 5 km. to the West of Chiengrai on the left shore of the Mekok. It can be reached either by boat in one hour and a half, or more agreeably by motorcar over a bridge practicable during the dry season. At the base of the hill the limestone-rocks form many caves and rock-shelters. In one of these shelters we made a ditch 2 metres deep without the least success. The yellow soil mixed with fragments of limestone contained not a single trace of human workmanship.

The cave called Tam Pra,—Tam being the Siamese word for cave—consists as a matter of fact of two caves. The principal cave forms a very big, deep and high dome-like room. It communicates



Fig. 1  
The double cave Tam Pra.

inside with a second and smaller cave. Both caves have separate openings to the outside-world, about 4 metres above the level of a small pond. The picture, Fig. 1, taken by *R. Iselin*, shows the two openings of that double cave. To the right is the entrance to the principal room, and to the left that to the smaller cave. A wooden bridge and a stair-case of cement make the access to the main cave very easy. In the interior of the big room a wooden temple has been erected, protecting a gigantic image of Buddha. In front of it is an altar with a great number of small images made of stone, bronze, wood or clay. They are all offerings and placed at the feet of the principal statue. Siamese people are frequently visiting the place, praying before the images, lighting small candles and depositing offerings. The smaller cave on the contrary contained no object of worship; there is only a small old temple made of bricks and falling all to pieces. It was obvious that digging in the sanctuary, that is in the main cave, was out of question, but we hoped that an attempt in the smaller cave would not meet with too many great difficulties. We asked therefore the Governor of Chiengrai, His Excellency *Phya Rajades Lamrong*, for the permission to make a search in this part of the cave. He received us very kindly and explained to us he would be interested himself in such an investigation, but unfortunately he was not in a position to give us such a permission without referring first to His Royal Highness Prince *Damrong* in Bangkok. He as Head of the Archaeological service of Siam was the only one to grant our wish. Prince *Damrong* gave by telegram his consent under the condition that the Governor should go with us. In this manner matters were arranged.

Near the entrance of the cave a longitudinal ditch 2 metres long and 1 m. broad was cut out. The profile was a most simple one. A superficial layer, about 20 cm. deep, was formed by sand mixed with fragments of bricks. Then followed a layer of about 80 cm, consisting of earth coloured gray by ashes. In the upper part of this layer some sherds of plain and cord-marked pottery were found, a little deeper a certain number of crude implements of palaeolithic character, made from Rhyolithe and other eruptive rocks, also some

round pebbles having been used as hammer-stones, some lumps of red ochre and some broken bones of mammals. Beneath this gray deposit the earth became yellow, frequently mixed with fragments of limestone, but without any sign of human workmanship. The rocky ground of the cave had been reached at the depth of 1.60 m. A second ditch, perpendicular to the first one, made the following day, gave the same poor results. There can be no doubt that the real place inhabited by prehistoric men is the great cave which we could not touch for reasons mentioned before.

After this first test in the North of Siam we decided to try our luck in the South of the kingdom in the neighbourhood of Rajburi. We had been told that this region was particularly rich in caves. The little town of Rajburi lies at a distance of 115 km. to the South-West of Bangkok. Thanks to arrangements made by the Secretary of the Interior in Bangkok, the Mayor of the place *Phya Ram Radja Pakdi*, put at our disposal a charming little house floating on the fine Meklong River. To the West of Rajburi a great many limestone-hills rise abruptly from the surrounding plain. Our friendly landlord brought us personally in a motorear to a big cave, called Khao Tam, situated at the foot of a rocky hill about 18 km. in a southwesterly direction from Rajburi. The cave is a highly vaulted room, containing an image of Buddha; it is closed up by a wall with a door, and has its floor covered by a pavement of stones. A priest is taking care of this sanctuary. For prehistorical research this cave may have been most interesting and promising, but being a sanctuary, the question of digging was not even raised. Undoubtedly this cave has been inhabited by prehistoric men, for in a corner of it, where the pavement was missing, we found by digging with the hammer a round pebble of yellow quartzite showing marks of usage.

On the following morning we travelled on horseback, guided by an officer of the Government, in a north-westerly direction to an isolated chain of limestone-hills. In a small valley a cave was shown to us, Tam Rasi, unfortunately also a sanctuary, with stair-case, cement floor, images of Buddha and old inscriptions on the rocks. Further



on in the valley a steep path leads to another cave about 70 m. above the bottom of the valley, Tam Fa To. It is a long and narrow corridor with an image of Buddha in the dark background, only lightened by a small door in the brick-wall which closes the entrance. A little digging outside of the wall procured nothing of interest. A small rock-shelter near by promised better results. This shelter, however, had not been left undisturbed, fragments of bricks being mixed with the superficial layers. Pieces of pottery plain or cord-marked were found until a depth of about 50 cm.; in the deeper layers we found a great deal of lumps of ochre red and yellow, some pieces of limestone showing decidedly palaeolithic forms, a few bones of mammals, some marine-shells and a great number of land-shells (*Cyclophorus*) intact or intentionally broken, but not a single piece of eruptive-rock could be discovered. As a whole a very poor result!—

Much more successful proved to be another enterprise in the vicinity of Lopburi, well known by its ruins in the style of the Khmer. Here also the Government provided us with a swimming bungalow on a branch of the Menam-river. The Governor of the district, His Excellency *Phya Bejrapibal*, kindly informed us that in a limestone-hill near the village of Ban Mee were some caves easy to reach. Ban Mee is the fourth station of the railroad north of Lopburi, at 161 km. north of Bangkok. H. R. H. *Prince Damrong* was again asked by telegraph kindly to give us permission for a research in this country.

About 1 km. South-West of Ban Mee rises an isolated limestone-hill, called Smam Cheng. A great quarry of limestone has been started on the side of this hill. A road practicable for motor-cars leads to the quarry and further on into a small valley with temples and hermitages. The first cave which the district-officer showed us, was again as usual a sanctuary with a floor of stone-slabs. Further on there was another cave falling abruptly into the rock, about 8 metres deep, called Tam Kradam by our guide. Fig. 2 shows the entrance of the grotto taken from the bottom. A hermit had established himself in this cave, building for himself a kind of wooden scaffold. The bottom of the cave was covered with big

planks supported by small pillars of cement rising from the flat bottom of the grotto. Two niches in the background had fortunately been left uncovered, permitting a search.

The soil of this part of the cave to the depth of 1 metre and more was literally filled with numberless shells of *Cyclophorus*, intact or intentionally broken. The use of ochre was clearly shown by the red colouring of some of the stones; but the most welcome discovery was the fact that I found here quite a number of implements of decidedly palaeolithic character made of Rhyolithe, Greenstones and other eruptive rocks. Flakes and shapeless pieces of these rocks, without or almost without trace of workmanship, were plentiful in the deposit, bones of mammals very scarce. Like all the implements found in the other places, not a single one showed the slightest trace of polishing. Fragments of pottery were only found on the surface.



Fig. 2  
The entrance of  
Tam Kradam.

We visited still another cave in the same valley, Tam Kang Kao, its steep access being facilitated by 138 steps. The floor of this cave was thickly covered by a layer of excrements of bats, exploited by Guano-seekers. The horrible smell and the bats flying around our heads hindered any serious effort in this place.

The relation of my researches has clearly shown that they can only be considered as an essay to elucidate the Prehistory of Siam. Not a single cave has been explored systematically and in totality. Such work must be done by people residing in the country.

Nevertheless, as my results in the North as well as in the South of the kingdom agree with each other, I dare hope that this accord may be considered as a proof of their correctness. Siam once thoroughly explored will certainly prove to be one of the countries richest in prehistorical remains. I am led to believe that scarcely a single habitable cave will be found which does not contain remains of prehistorical men.

DESCRIPTION OF THE  
COLLECTED IMPLEMENTS.

1) Coup de poing from *Chom Tong*, fig. 3 a. and b. This implement is a roughly chipped pebble of Ryolithe of an irregularly pear-shaped form, 12.7 cm long with a greatest breadth of 10.5 and a greatest thickness of 4.5. One of the two faces, a, has been pretty well flattened by several coarse chips, the other side, b, highly vaulted

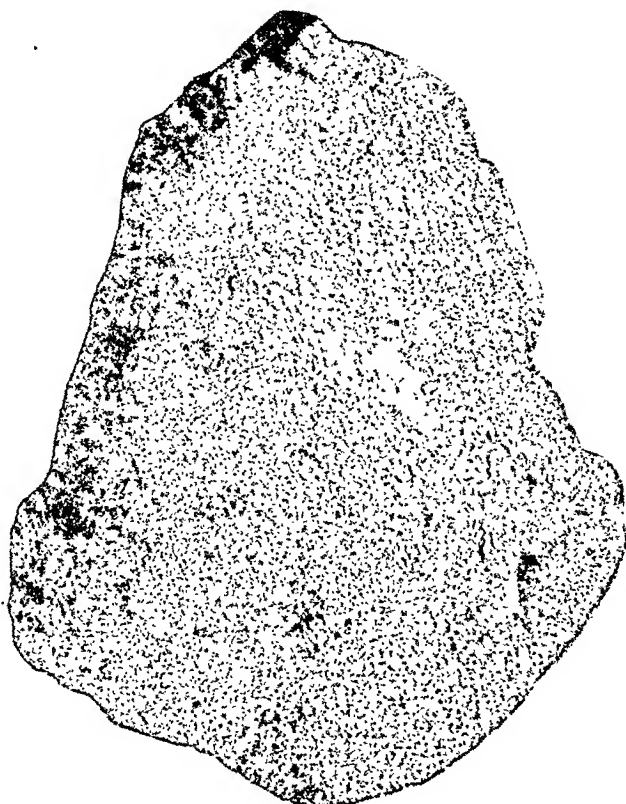


Fig. 3 a.

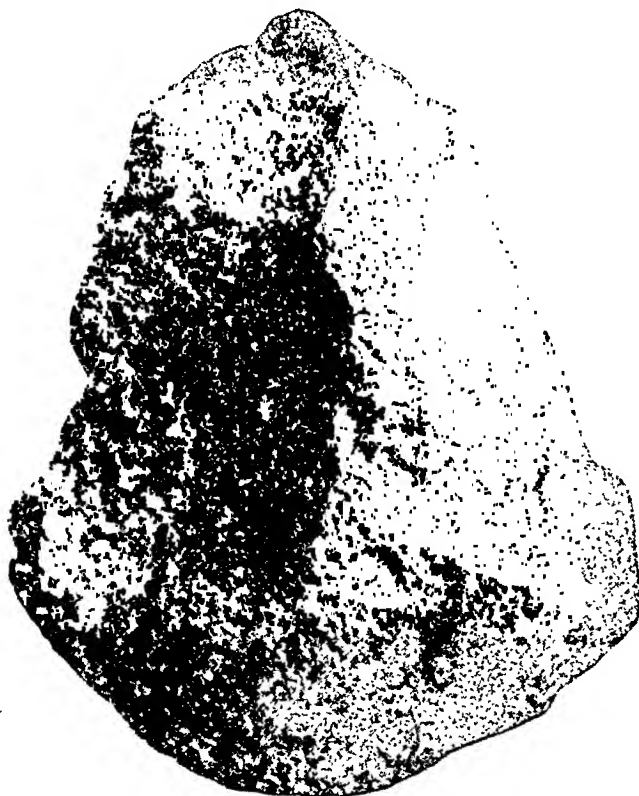


Fig. 3 b.

Coup de poing 3/4 nat. size.

is covered by the natural red crust of the pebble. Towards the point some chips have exposed the green heart of the stone. The edge of the instrument is sharpened all around. This rude implement compares with the clumsy and primitive coups de poing, discovered by Miss *M. Colani* (3, p. 10) in the oldest Hoabinhian culture of Tonkin (example, 3, Pl. I, fig. 17).

2) Finds at *Tam Pra* near Chiengrai.

The Fig. 4. shows an implement made from a light green pebble of fine-grained Diabase. The pebble has been intentionally broken. One of the two faces is, as a result of the fraction, completely flat and forms with the other one, which is vaulted and covered by the natural smooth crust of the pebble, a sharp and cutting edge, showing some small indents, marks of use. On the thick side of the pebble, opposite to the sharp border, a long chip has been removed, giving an excellent hold for the index. Length 10 cm. greatest breadth 5.5, greatest thickness 3. cm. This piece represents the most simple method of the appropriation of a natural pebble to an implement.



Fig. 4  
Implement made of Diabase  
3/4 nat. size.



Fig. 5 a  
Instrument made from Slate  
3/4 nat. size.

Similar instruments made from pebbles by removing some coarse chips have been described by *Colani*, out of the archaic Hoa-binhian (Example, 3, Pl. I, fig. 5).

The rude implement of Fig. 5 a and b has been worked out from a big pebble of green Slate. The pebble has been broken so as to form a flat

and thin, approximately quadrangular plate.

One of the large faces of the plate, a, shows the smooth surface of the pebble.

On its superior border a flat chip has been taken off, probably in order to procure a hold for the hand. The other

face, b, completely flat, is formed by the fraction of the pebble. Its interior border has been roughly and obliquely chipped to a cutting edge. Length 8.5 cm, greatest breadth 10.5, thickness 1.5 to 1.8 cm. This implement reminds one of the so-called "haches courtes" discovered by *Colani* (6) in the palaeolithic station at Lang Kay, Tonkin.

The Fig. 6 represents a small



Fig. 5 b  
Instrument made from Slate  
3/4 nat. size.



Fig. 6  
disk of chert 2/3 nat. size.

disk of white chert, simply a piece of a broken round pebble; one of its sides is plane, the other rounded. Some small indents of the border seem to be marks of use. Length 6.5 cm., breadth 5, thickness in the middle 2 cm.

A flat and thin pebble, Fig. 7, has served for grinding ochre as is shown by some red and yellow spots. Length 13.5 cm. greatest breadth 7.5, thickness 1 to 2 cm.

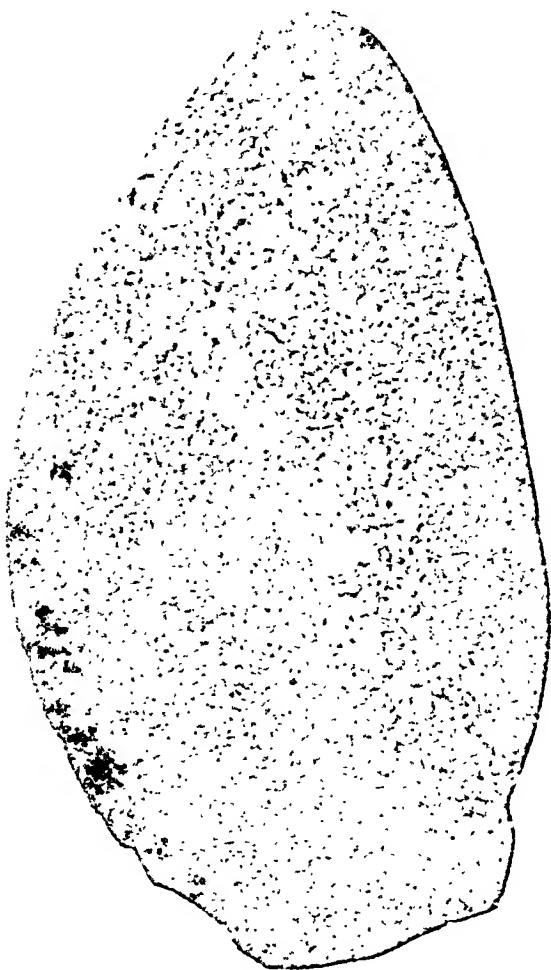


Fig. 7  
Plate for grinding ochre  
2/3 nat. size.

The Point, Fig. 8, made from limestone, seems to me to be of a too regular shape to be considered of a purely natural origin. Probably a stone of



Fig. 8 a



Fig 8 b  
Point of limestone  
2/3 nat. size.

approximately triangular shape has been used for making this implement. The profile forms a triangle with three completely flat sides. On the lower edge of the sharp middle-brim a triangular piece has been cut off, probably for procuring a hold for the fingers or for a handle. Length 8 cm. greatest breadth 4.5, thickness at the base of the brim 2.6 cm. The use of limestone as a material for implements is not surprising, the crystallized limestone being of great hardness.

The deposit contained also a certain number of heavy round pebbles, having served for hammering or beating. Grip-marks cannot be noticed on these stones. The hammer-stone of the Fig. 9, of a yellow Quartzite, has a smooth surface except on the places where hammering had produced a roughened appearance.



Fig. 9  
Hammer-stone of Quartzite  
2/3 nat. size.

Implements made of bones were very scarce. Of an indubitable workmanship is only the small Point of the Fig. 10, 3.7 cm. long. Its base has been cut in the shape of a semi-circle; the rest is very much damaged by humidity.

There are still to be mentioned as contents of the deposit lumps of ochre, a certain number of broken bones of deer and a vertebra of a crocodile. Shells were very scarce. I shall refer later to the fragments of pottery found in the upper part of the layer.



Fig. 10  
Point of bone  
nat. size.

3) Objects from *Tam Krahan* near Lopburi.

Fig. 11 represents a very crude implement made from a block of Rhyolithe. The base is perfectly plain without any trace of workmanship; it is of an oval shape with some angles corresponding to the broad chips taken off from the upper surface of the block, 11.5 cm. long with a maximal breadth of 8 cm. The implement has the shape of a pentagonal pyramid, formed by large lateral chips, leaving between them on the top a long, flat and pentagonal piece of the original surface.



Fig. 11  
Implement of Rhyolithe  
2/3 nat. size.

The anterior roughly worked point has unfortunately been damaged by the hoe. The greatest thickness of this clumsy tool measures 6.5 cm.

A similar piece, Fig. 12, also made of Rhyolithe, has a base of a long triangular form, pointed anteriorly. Its shape is also that of a pentagonal pyramid with a pentagonal piece of the original surface left on the top between the lateral chips. The anterior point presents some small chippings. Length 13.3 cm. greatest breadth 7.5, greatest thickness 6 cm.

To the same kind of implements made of Rhyolithe belongs also the piece of Fig. 13 with a flat triangular base and a flat field on the top bordered by big chips. An anterior point with a middle-brim has been worked in an unhandy manner. Length 10,5 cm. greatest breadth 9, thickness 4.5 cm.



I am utterly unable to express a definite opinion about the mode of use of these crude implements. They may have served as scrapers, but more likely as arms or primitive coups de poing.

*Colani* (3) mentions amongst the clumsiest implements of the oldest Hoabinhian so-called Percuteurs or arms for throwing, which may correspond to the ones described by me. They have also the shape of big pyramids with a flat base and large chips on the sides, bordering on the top a piece of the natural surface of the block; their thickness surpasses often 5 cm. (Examples *Colani*, 3, Pl. IV, Fig. 8, VII, Fig. 15, VIII, Fig. 9.)

Allied forms, but more carefully executed, are figured by *Stein Callenfels* and *Evans* (36) under the designation of Sumatra types, that is to say of implements chipped on one

side only and having the original surface of the pebble left on the other one. Particularly the piece of their Fig. 7 on Pl. LXIV shows a marked resemblance to the Siamese implements. It comes from the Gua Kerbau cave in the district of Perak and seems to represent a more highly developed form of the clumsy Siamese tools. The authors (p. 154) consider implements of this kind to belong to the series of coups de poing. In the mesolithic culture of the "Tumbian" of the Congo region rough stone implements of a similar type are also

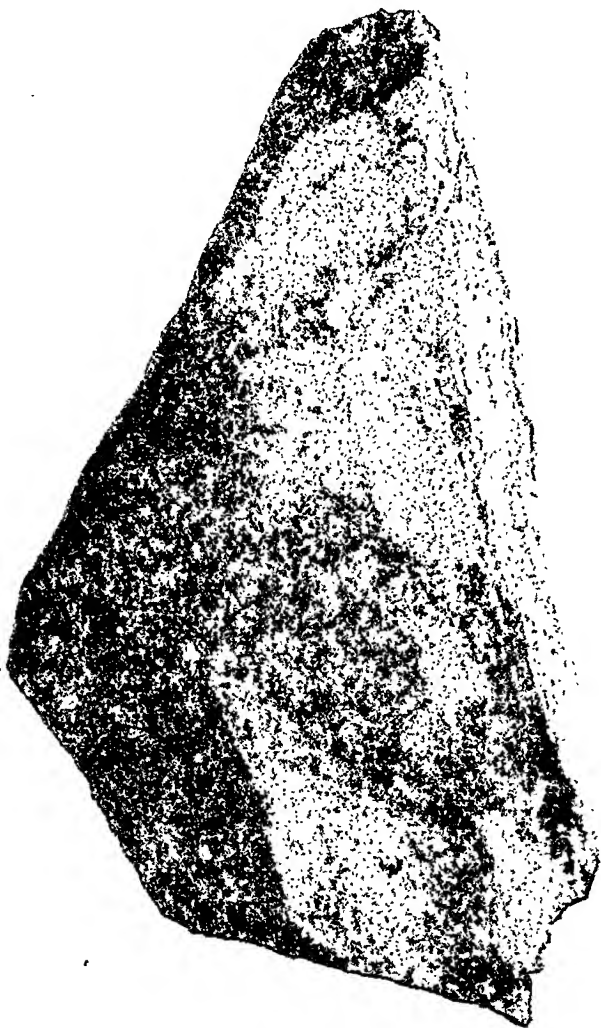


Fig. 12  
Implement of Rhyolithe  
3/4 nat. size.

found (*Menghin*, 32).

A thick pick-like Point is shown in Fig. 14. It is made of Rhyolithe and very much weather-worn, so that the chipping has been rendered indistinct. Length 9.7 cm. breadth and thickness at the base 5 respectively, 3.5 cm. The base is of an irregularly rectangular shape, whilst the point forms a regular triangle, two sides

of which are smooth, the third one rough, the whole lower side of the implement having been left unworked. It is probable that a natural piece of stone of a more or less triangular form has been used to make this implement. Similar points or picks with thick base and triangular point are also found in the Prechellean and Chellean cultures, and also in the Tumbian of the Congo region implements of this type occur. *Colani* describes repeatedly from the archaic Hoabinhian old-fashioned points roughly shaped by some chips out of a natural point-like piece of stone (Example, 3, Pl. IV, Fig. 6, heavy point, 13.5 cm. long).

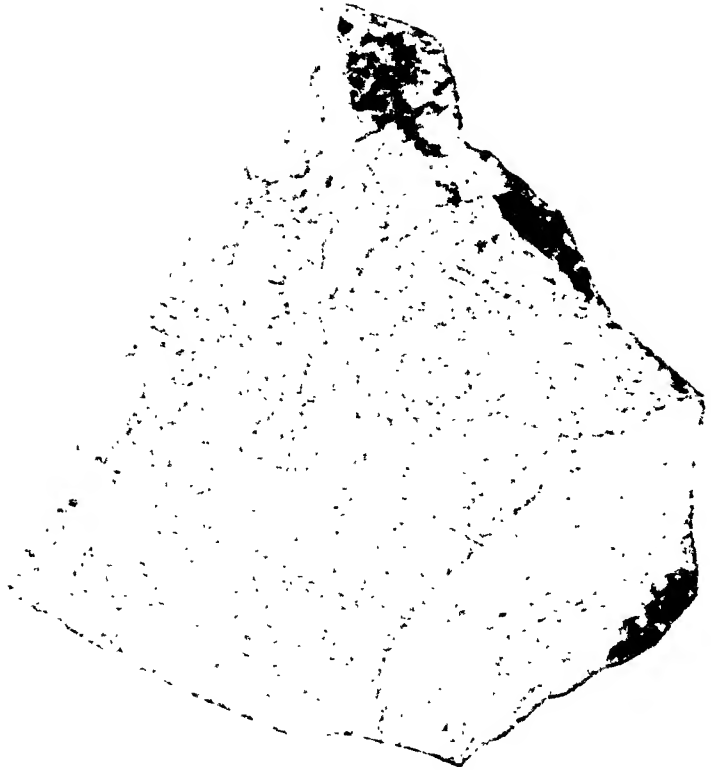


Fig. 13  
Implement of Rhyolithe  
3/4 nat. size.



Fig. 14  
Pick or Point of Rhyolithe  
3/4 nat. size.

The Fig. 15 represents a Point in the shape of a leaf, made from a flake or Rhyolithe, 9.5 cm. long with a greatest breadth of 4.7 and a thickness at the base of 1.8 cm. at the point of 0.2 cm.

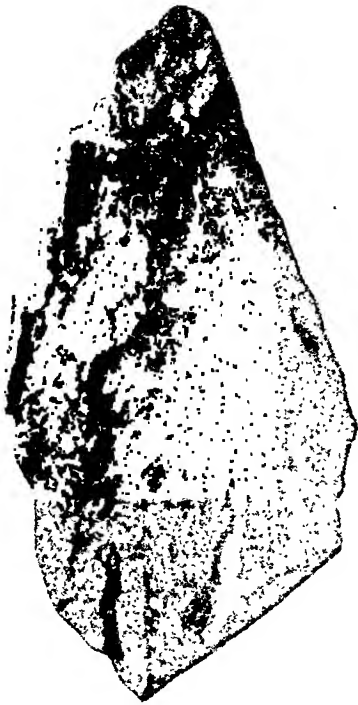


Fig. 15  
Leaf-like Point of Rhyolithe  
3/4 nat. size.

The lower side of the implement has been left totally unworked, while from the upper part many chips have been removed. The

left border  
shows towards

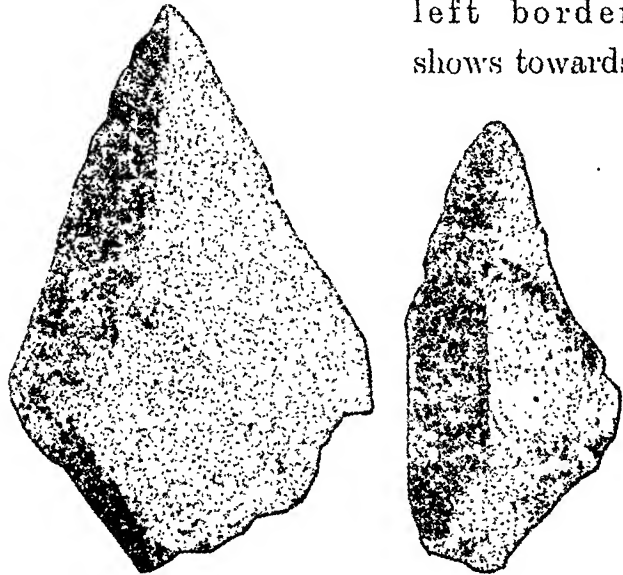


Fig. 16  
Points of Rhyolithe 3/4 nat. size.

the point an unhandy chipping, producing, an indented aspect. The point is very sharp and the base finishes also with a point, made by a lateral chip. The implement reminds one of a very rude Mousterian point. *Menglin* (33, p. 215) says that points of the shape of laurel-leaves are characteristic for almost all the cultures with coups de poing of the young Palaeolithic.

In the cave-deposit there were also found several points, being simply sharp-edged flakes of Rhyolithe without any trace of later

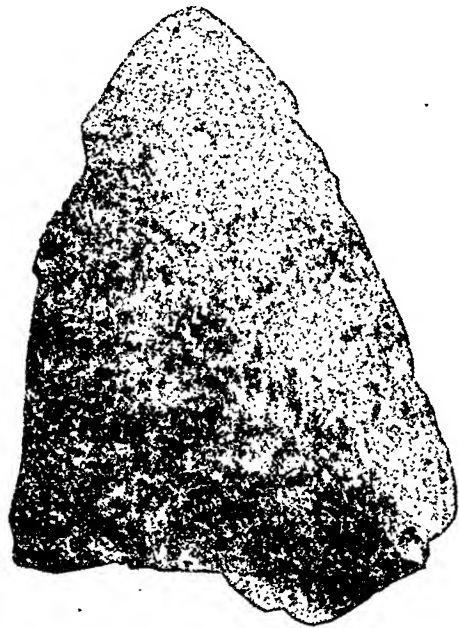


Fig. 17  
Point of limestone  
3/4 nat. size.

workmanship. Sometimes some chips have been removed in order to improve the point or to furnish a hold for the hand. Two of these points, 7.5 and 6 cm. long, are represented in Fig. 16; a very crude point made from limestone in Fig. 17.

The Fig.

18 a and b

show a  
kind of  
scraper  
made from  
a block of  
Rhyolithe,  
9.8 cm.

long, 5.5  
broad and  
3.7 thick.

The upper  
side, a, is  
roof-  
shaped  
with a

sharp mid-  
dle-brim,

the declivity of the right side having been left unworked and covered by the natural crust of the block, while the left one has undergone chipping. The two lateral borders of the implement are indented by use. The lower surface, b, is simply formed by the fraction of the block, and is clumsily and obliquely worked on one of its borders. Primitive scrapers of varied forms are frequently met with in the Tonkin-caves.

Another implement of the same type, Fig. 19, made also from a block of Rhyolithe, is of a much bigger size, 15.5 cm. long, 9 broad and 5 to 5.5 cm. thick. It has not been quite finished, the lower side presenting great irregularities. The upper side, roof-shaped with a middle-brim has, exactly like the piece in Fig. 18, the right declivity

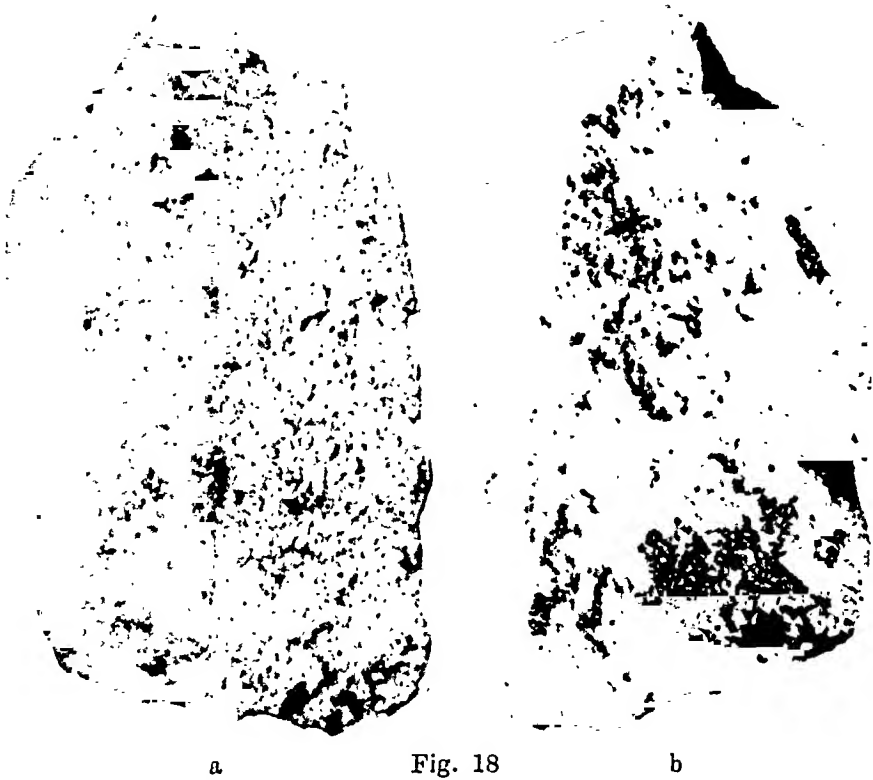


Fig. 18  
Scraper made of Rhyolithe  
3/4 nat. size.

left unworked and covered by the crust of the block, and the left one roughly chipped.

The little instrument of the Fig. 20, made of a piece of dark limestone, is remarkable for the fact that it has been besmeared on four places with a red colour, probably ochre. It has a length of 5.5 cm. at its base a breadth of 3.3 and a thickness of 1.7 cm. Near the point some fine chippings contrast by their dark colour from the gray and decomposed surface of the implement.

There are still to be



Fig. 20  
Implement made of limestone,  
3/4 nat. size.

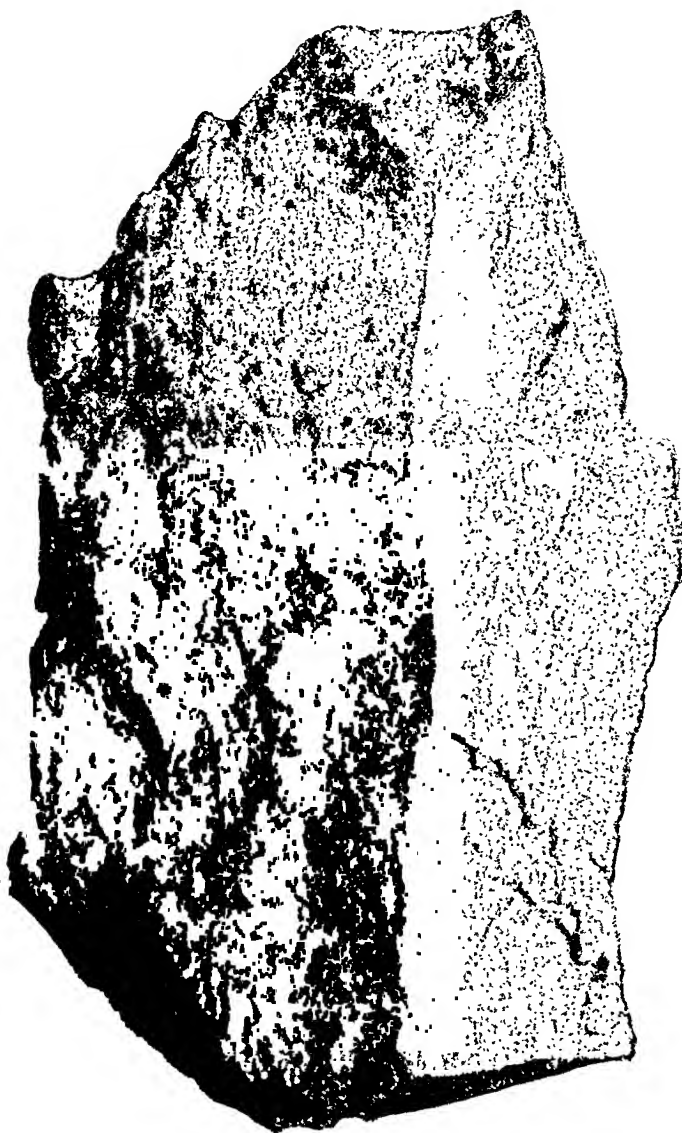


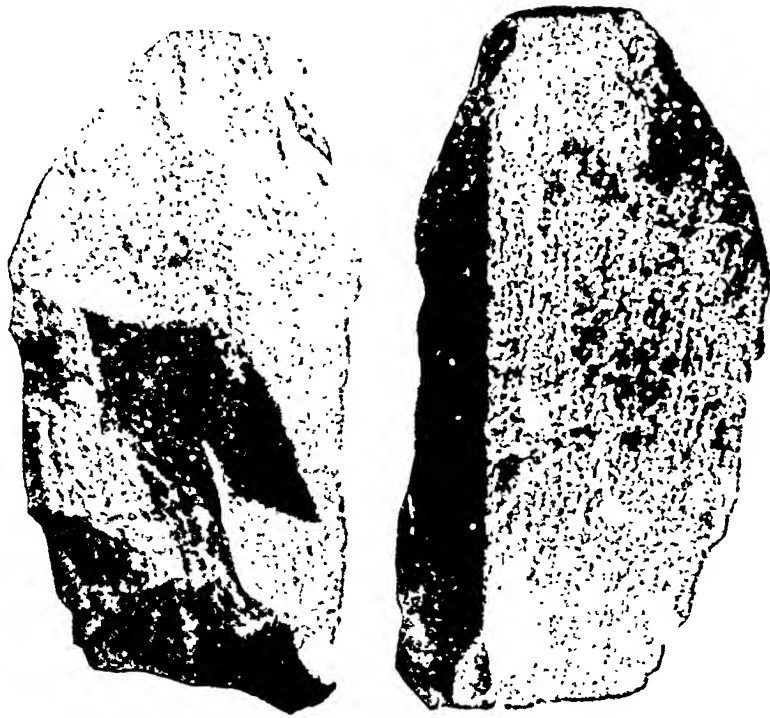
Fig. 19  
Scraper made of Rhyolithe 3/4 nat. size.

mentioned, as contents of the deposit, many flakes from rocks foreign to the limestone-caves, showing no or almost no traces of workmanship, and further traces of ochre. The chief part of the food of the cave-dwellers consisted undoubtedly of mollusks. The whole deposit was crowded with innumerable shells of terrestrial mollusks (Cyclophoridae), most of them intentionally broken. Very rarely shells of a great

Nanina were mixed with the others. As for the bones of mammals, only a piece of the mandible of a young pig has been found. Some fragments of modern pottery were lying on the surface.

4) Objects from the rock-shelter near *Rajburi*.

Samples of rocks foreign to the limestone shelter were completely lacking. It may be that eruptive rocks are rare in this vicinity. Instead of such eruptive rocks limestone has been used for making tools. An implement un-



a                      Fig. 21                      b  
Knife made of limestone  
3/4 nat. size.

doubtedly executed in limestone is the knife shown in Fig. 21, a and b; it has a length of 9 cm. a breadth of 3.7 to 5 and a greatest thickness of 3 cm. One of the two sides, a is slightly vaulted and shows different marks of chipping; the other one, b, presents a sharp and longitudinal brim. The steep declivity on the left of the brim has probably served as a hold for a finger; the right one, which is broader and slightly concave, finishes with an edge showing marks of use. The two ends of the implement are transversely trunked by chips.

Human workmanship may appear a little doubtful on the thick point or pick of the Fig. 22, consisting of a very much weather-worn piece of limestone. Nevertheless the resemblance with the point made of Rhyolithe and represented in Fig. 14 is striking. The profile of the point is quadrangular, that of the thick base more irre-

gular. Some chips removed from the base seem to give an easier grip of the implement. Length 10.5 cm., breadth and thickness of the base 6 and 4.5 cm. respectively.

A very crude scraper made of limestone corresponds in its shape to the scrapers of Rhyolithe, represented in the Fig. 18 and 19. The deposit contained also many lumps of red and yellow ochre, some broken bones of mammals and an abundance of shells of Cyclophoridae. Marine shells of *Arca* indicate that the sea is not very far off (about 50 km). In the superficial layers fragments of pottery were found.

*Pottery.* A certain number of sherds of pottery of an old aspect, plain or decorated, have been collected in the cave Tam Pra and in the rock-shelter near Rajburi. The material used to make the pottery in one and the same locality is sometimes coarse and mixed with grains, sometimes pure and grainless. *Evans* (14, p. 57), for instance, met with the same state of things in the neolithic station of Nyong in the Malay Peninsula.

In the first place I draw the attention to a fragment of pottery found in the Rajburi-shelter, because its decoration is different from all the others I collected. The surface of this sherd, Fig. 23 a, is divided by elevated horizontal and vertical bars into small sunken squares. Exactly the same pattern has been described by *Stein Callenfels* and *Evans* (36, Pl. LXX, Fig. 8) from a fragment found in the Gua Kerbau-cave in the Perak district. The two authors are of the opinion that these squares may have been produced by pressing a stamp into the soft clay, and that this pattern may be an imitation of basket-work. This explanation may possibly be the right one, as

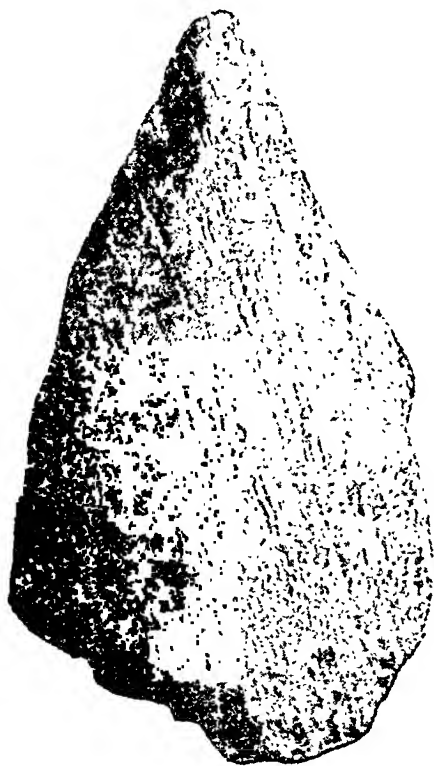


Fig. 22

Point of limestone  $\frac{3}{4}$  nat. size.

it is difficult indeed to imagine that a pattern of this kind could have originated by moulding a pot in a basket or other tress-work. On the other hand the fragment, Fig. 23 b, found in Tam Pra, presents beneath a plain and slightly concave border a pattern undoubtedly

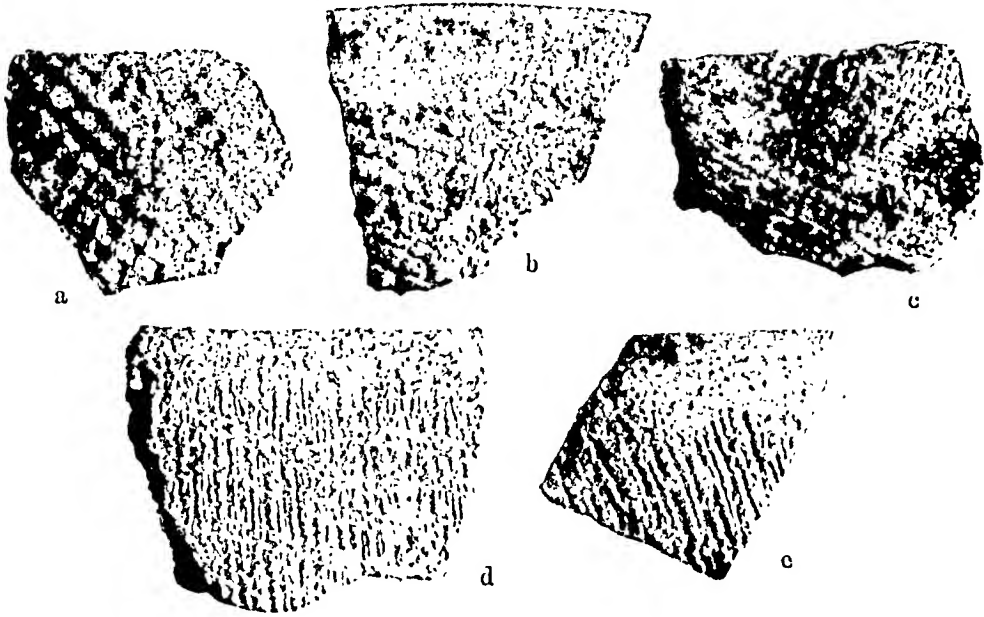


Fig. 23  
Fragments of Pottery :—  
a from Rajburi, b-e from Tam Pra,  
nat. size.

resulting from an impression of tress-work, furrows which by crossing each other include elevated squares. A similar crossing of furrows, though less distinct, can also be observed on the fragment of Fig. 23 c. Samples of this kind of pottery, called by the French "Poterie au Panier", by the English "Cord-marked Pottery", are frequently represented in the publications concerning the Prehistory of south-eastern Asia.

The fragment Fig. 23 d, shows no crossed lines, but simply a system of more or less fine and paralld bars and furrows. Patterns of this kind are certainly not resulting from an impression of tress-work, but seem to have been executed with a comb or a stiff brush, or simply with stalks of grasses or pointed sticks. It was perhaps with the idea to give to this pattern a certain aspect of basket-work that some double lines irregularly and obliquely crossing the system



of parallel furrows have been supplementarily traced. A pattern of parallel furrows and bars is also to be seen on the sherd of Fig. 23 e.

*Evans* (10, p. 177), is of the opinion that patterns of this kind may have been made by the potter by pressing cords, one next to the other, into the soft clay. Such a proceeding would demand an extraordinary expense of labour and seems to me not probable at all, as the same pattern could be obtained much easier by one of the means mentioned above. Patterns of this kind should therefore not be called cord-marked.

As for the Age of the Pottery, the French investigators of the Indo-Chinese Prehistory are inclined to ascribe pottery only to the young and fully developed neolithic period (see for instance *Mansuy*, 26, p. 16 and 33). When in Tonkin-caves with deposits containing Bacsonian or Hoabinhian cultures fragments of pottery have been found, their position near the surface has been especially noticed or a disturbance of the layers was supposed. The Prehistorians of the Malay Peninsula are not quite of the same opinion. After the results obtained by *Stein Callenfels* and *Evans* in the Gua Kerbau-cave (36, p. 158), cord-marked as well as plain Pottery belong already undoubtedly to the palaeo-protoneolithic culture, but only to its last period (young Bacsonian). Not one fragment of cord-marked ware has been found in the deeper layers, but only some plain fragments of which the authors suppose that they may have slipped down through holes made by burrowing animals.

*Evans* (11, p. 21), says that in the caves of the Malay Peninsula Pottery, much of which is cord-marked, appears definitely associated with the palaeo-protoneolithic culture, as well as with the fully developed neolithic period, whilst in Indo-China Pottery has only been ascribed to this later culture. I think that *Stein-Callenfels* and *Evans* are right in ascribing Pottery already to the palaeo-protoneolithic period. In this culture, as will be shown later, implements only chipped are found together with pebbles being polished on one of their ends only. This innovation is generally believed to be produced by the contact of palaeolithic men with a neolithic culture. If this view is correct, it seems quite natural that pottery should appear

at the same time as the knowledge of polishing implements.

Cord-marked Pottery is, as *Evans* (13, p. 208) says, not confined to the palaeo-protoneolithic and the neolithic cultures, but is still found at much later dates. Indeed *Fromaget* has observed that still to-day cord-marked ware is made in the Laos district (*Patte*, 35, p. 17).

As for the fragments collected in the superficial layers of the Siamese caves, I believe that they may quite well belong to the palaeo-protoneolithic culture, as no neolithic stone-implements have been found associated with them.

*General Considerations.* The stone-implements discovered in the three Siamese caves and described above, present a purely palaeolithic character. Not the least trace of polishing is to be found on them. They are without exception very coarsely and primitively chipped. Their form is only approximately comparable with the skilfully executed implements of the classic Palaeolithic cultures of Europe. One is even frequently tempted to look for their relation with Præchellean cultures. By a few coarse chips, perfectly natural stones have been transformed into primitive implements, using as little labour as possible. The "Siamian", as I shall provisionally call it, is a palaeolithic culture of the most primitive nature. It is a culture of hunters and collectors of food without the possession of any domestic animals and without the knowledge of agriculture.

For a comparison of the Siamian let us turn our eyes first of all to Indo-China, where in a great many caves of Tonkinese limestone-massifs, Bac-Son and others, very careful explorations have been undertaken by *H. Mansuy* and Miss *M. Colani*. The most ancient Bacsonian culture of Keo Phay and other caves is described by the two authors (28, p. 41) as follows: "Dans les couches les plus anciennes du Bacsonien, se rencontrent, en juxtaposition, des instruments du style paléolithique primitif, rappelant les pièces caractéristiques du Pleistocène européen, avec des haches de travail rudimentaire, la plupart faites d'un galet non retouché, parfois au contour naturel repris par retouches plus ou moins étendues, toutes ayant reçu le polissage à l'une des extrémités seulement." This culture is

designed as "Néolithique inférieur", by others as "Mésolithique".

In a publication of *Mansuy* of the same year 1925 (26, p. 38), we find the following passage: "L'outillage paléolithique de physiologie chelléo-moustérienne, découvert dans certains dépôts de cavernes du Bac-Son, en association avec un matériel néolithique fruste, fait pressentir en Indochine, l'existence de gisements ne renfermant exclusivement que les produits de l'industrie du Paléolithique des premiers temps."

This prediction was very soon realized. In the year 1926, Miss *Colani* announced the discovery of a pure palaeolithic culture without a juxtaposition of polished implements in the Tonkinese province of Hoa-Binh, and later in the district of Ninh-Binh. Her well and richly illustrated publications give a very clear idea of this archaic Hoabinhian culture (*Colani*, 1-6).

It is characterized by the fact that frequently natural stones, left unworked or slightly modified by a few chips, were used as implements. The big and heavy tools resemble mostly only approximately the forms of the European Palaeolithic. Chipping is restricted to one side of the implements, the other side being left unworked and covered by the natural crust of the pebble. *Colani* (3, p. 56) asserts that the implements of the oldest Hoabinhian belong to the clumsiest ever made by human hands. The material for the implements was furnished, as it is the case in Siam, chiefly by eruptive rocks. Lumps of ochre were frequent in the deposits. Bones of mammals were more or less richly represented in some of the caves, while in others they were wanting. A very important part of the diet of the cave-dwellers consisted of mollusks, chiefly *Melantias*, forming sometimes mighty layers in the deposits. In the Siamese caves *Melantias* were not found, but in abundance a species of *Cyclophorus*. *Cyclophorides* also occur frequently in the Tonkinese caves.

In describing the stone-implements found in the Siamese caves, I have already called attention to the numerous resemblances with those of the archaic Hoabinhian of *Colani*. I am therefore convinced that the Siamian belongs to the same group of palaeo-

lithic cultures.

In the Malay Peninsula the most important exploration ever undertaken is certainly the research in the Gua Kerbau-cave by *Stein Callenfels* and *Evans* (36). They both found, almost in the whole deposit of the rock-shelter, stone-implements simply chipped without any trace of polishing, Palaeoliths, as they call them, mixed with others, showing polishing at one of their ends only, Protoneoliths. The culture of Gua Kerbau compares exactly with the Baesian of *Mansuy*. This same culture having now been found as well in the South as in the East of today Siam, I am convinced that following research will discover it also in the kingdom itself.

*Evans* (11, p. 21-22) has said in 1930, that the most ancient culture found up to to-day in the Malay States, was the palaeo-protoneolithic, and that a pure Palaeolithic had still to be looked for. But *Evans* himself (7) had published in 1919 an article concerning a digging in a cave near Lenggong, Upper Perak, where in a deposit of bones and shells he had only found clumsy Palaeoliths, without any trace of polishing. He adds in 1922 (8, p. 48), that of all the multiple localities explored by him, the Lenggong-cave only had contained a culture without polished implements. The pure Palaeolithic, corresponding to the Siamian and the oldest Hoabinhian, can therefore be accepted as also existing in the Malay Peninsula.

Neither in Indo-China, nor in Siam or in the Malay Peninsula have traces of the Aurignacian, Solutrean, Magdalenian or Azilian cultures been discovered. The Palaeolithic of this region passes, on the contrary, imperceptibly and without any separating layers to a primitive, and further to a well developed Neolithic culture.

The question has now to be discussed what age may be attributed to the Palaeolithic of south-eastern Asia. All the students of the Prehistory of this region are rightly unanimous in the opinion, that the term "Palaeolithic" should not at all mean a synchronism with the palaeolithic period of Europe, but only a similarity of the implements and the mode of their making. *Stein Callenfels* and *Evans* for instance (36, p.146), express themselves on this question as follows: "We consider that the term Palaeolithic should not be

employed as indicating a period of time, but a culture, in which the people, as far as regards using stone, only knew how to make chipped implements," and *Evans* (11, p.23) says: "Because a stone-implement, from Malaya or elsewhere, is of the same type as one from Europe, it does not by any means follow, that it is of the same age." *Heine-Geldern* also (16, p.47) accents in his paper on the stone-age of south-eastern Asia, that he employs the term "Palaeolithic" exclusively in the sense of a culture, and by no means in that of a determination of age.

A very high or pleistocene age of the cave-deposits of south-eastern Asia is already rendered very little probable by the fact, that in Australia certain tribes still to-day employ implements of palaeolithic and protoneolithic character. The nature of the cave-deposits also speaks against a very old age. The bones of mammals, which accompany in the Tonkin caves the palaeolithic culture, are, as *Colani* (3, p.69) suggests, hardly older than those of the more superficial layers, which she considers as being those of recent species. About the remnants of animals of the Bacsonian, *Mansuy* (26, p.35) says, that they seem to him to belong to species still existing in the country. Nevertheless it is not to be forgotten that the bones of mammals collected in the Tonkin and Malayan caves, have never been carefully compared by an expert Palaeontologist with those of recent forms. The few bones found by myself in the Siamese caves represent a much too small material as to be of any value in this question.

If, as it seems probable, the animals of the palaeolithic and protoneolithic layers are the same as those living actually in the country, it is of the greatest interest to note, that the races of men have completely changed. This fact proves to me without any doubt a not inconsiderable age of the cave-deposits.

In the layers containing a purely palaeolithic culture, determinable human remains have not yet been discovered, but they have repeatedly been found in the overlaying beds containing the oldest Bacsonian, called inferior Neolithic. *Mansuy* and *Colani* (28, p.42) consider as the most ancient human type a race with distinct

Melanesian and also Australian affinities, with strongly elongated skull and several primitive characteristics. They design this race as Proto-Melanesian. To this type belong the skulls of the Lang Cuom-station and the Dong Thuoc-cave (*Mansuy*, 25, p.25). *Huxley* (17, p.265), by examining fragments of skulls, found in a shell-mound of the Malay Peninsula, has already in 1863 noted their relation with the inhabitants of New Guinea and the Australians. It seems therefore certain that a Protomelanesian race has inhabited in the past a great part of the south-eastern Asiatic Continent.

In the cave of Pho-Binh-Gia in Tonkin skulls of Indonesian affinities make their appearance. *Verneau* (37, p.558-559) has accented their relation with certain hill-tribes of Indo-China, as well as with the Battaks, Gayos, Dayaks and so on of the Malayan islands. The Lang-Cuom cave contained, among a majority of Protomelanesian skulls, a small number of others with Indonesian characteristics. In spite of this mixture it is certainly permitted to suppose that the Indonesians represent a race which came later, and probably was already in possession of a neolithic culture. Undoubtedly of much later dates are the types with Mongolian features. To this race belong the actual and highly civilized inhabitants of Indo-China and Siam.

In the Malay Peninsula where human remains have been found in caves, no scientific study has been made so far. Some authors, as *Wray* (39 and 40) and *Evans* (8), are inclined to ascribe the contents of the caves to the ancestors of the Negritos or the Sakais. This supposition seems to me not plausible at all, as it is hardly believable that the Bacsonian culture of Gua Kerbau and other Malayan caves should represent the remains of another race than that, which left the quite analogous industry in the caves of Indo-China.

As to the palaeolithic population of Siam, there can hardly be any doubt that it belonged to the Protomelanesian stock. Its culture shows such a clear relation with that of the old Hoabinhians, which certainly can be attributed to this race.

Nowhere in Indo-China, Siam or the Peninsula have remains of the *Homo neanderthalensis* or allied forms ever been discovered.

All the skulls found till now in caves or shell-mounds belong without the slightest doubt to the type of *Homo sapiens*.

Trying to express in numbers the age of the prehistoric cultures of south-eastern Asia is of course an audacious attempt. *Menghin* (31, p.923) has ventured the opinion that the appearance of the oldest Bacsonian (Keo Phay) in Indo-China may have happened between 5000 and 4000 years before Christ. If this statement is correct, the pure Palaeolithic of Indo-China, Siam and the Malay States must precede this date. But such sort of valuations being always of an arbitrary character, I prefer to content myself by saying, that the Palaeolithic of south-eastern Asia is certainly of a post-glacial age and therefore relatively recent.

Many prehistorical problems of south-eastern Asia, and especially of Siam, are awaiting their final solution. My modest researches in the kingdom just mark a beginning, but they show, that by organized scientific research results of the greatest importance could be obtained. If my work should stimulate new investigations, I shall consider my task as accomplished.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE THAI IN YUNNAN

2205 B.C.—1253 A.D.

By

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There are no Thai records of the history of the Thai race during the many centuries it lived in South China in what is now known as the province of Yunnan, and such records as exist only commence in the 13th century A.D. after the establishment of the Thai Kingdom of Sukhodaya.

To obtain information on this subject one has to refer to Chinese records, local legends and customs in Yunnan and from those a rather sketchy history has been built up since the beginning of this century by Europeans (usually French) who have patiently translated some of these records. Much credit must also be given to the investigations by Gerini of these translations. He has collated this information and was I believe the first person to connect the Kingdom of Nan Chao with the Thai of Thailand. The best known translation, I understand, is that of Monsieur Camille Sanson of Yang Shen's "Romance of the Kingdom of Nan Chao". He was a customs officer in the Chinese service stationed at Yunnan for many years. Unfortunately his knowledge of Chinese was not profound and his translation has been found to be full of errors.

Towards the end of the last century an English missionary named G.W. Clark was stationed in Tali-fu and Yunnan-fu for many years. He was something of a sinologue, was interested in local history, the local tribes, their customs, languages and legends and with the assistance of a local Chinese scholar he translated a Chinese manuscript he found at Tali-fu called a "History of the Southern Princes". It was written in 1537 A.D. by Yang-tsai of Chen-t'u fu in Szuchuan and re-edited by Hu-yu of Wuchang-fu in Hupeh in 1776. Both of these men were classical scholars of the first grade with the high degree of *Chang Wien* so it is presumable that their account is as authentic as any other ancient history.

G.W. Clark published several papers on the tribes of Yunnan together with his translation of Yang-tsai's "History of the Southern Princes" in a small book printed at the Shanghai Mercury Press in 1894 in a very limited edition for distribution to his friends. Very few copies appear to have been sold as no Europeans had much interest in Yunnan in those days. At any rate at the present date this book is unknown in the libraries of Europe and America. Only four copies are now known to exist and they are all in the hands of one owner.

The "History of the Southern Princes" gives a detailed account of the Thai race in Yunnan from the earliest times. The beginning is compiled from local legends, and recorded history commences in 280 B.C. G.W. Clark has investigated these legends and discovered that they still existed at the end of the last century and that several local customs and ceremonies were associated with them, thus tending to show that they have a basis of truth. This record relates how the Kingdom of Nan Chao came into being; it gives the name of every king who ruled it and the chief events of each reign until that Kingdom ceased to exist as such after its conquest by Kublai Khan in 1253 A.D. What was of special interest to me, it clothed the bare bones of history with interesting narratives which showed clearly what the Thai were like in those far off days thus enabling one to compare them with the Thai of today. From the very way he writes it is quite evident that Yang-tsai was sympathetic towards the Thai (if one takes into account that, to him, they were barbarians) and he appears to give full credit to their virtues.

In the whole history there is no single trace of a Thai name with the exception of the word "Chao" or chief. Every name sounds like a Chinese name. If however one examines the Chinese records of pilgrimages, embassies etc. to foreign countries from the beginning of the Christian era down to the end of the 19th century, all names, even English names, are made to sound as if they were Chinese.

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Last March I had the rare fortune to be lent a copy of G.W. Clark's book and was allowed to take full notes from it; it is these notes that I propose to read to you tonight. It is no original work of mine; I am just a copyist. As after considerable investigation I had been unable to discover any work which gave such a detailed account of the early history of the Thai race, I felt that I ought to share my luck with my Thai friends, being under the impression that they might even be more interested in it than I am.

Yunnan is first mentioned in Chinese history in 2205-2198 B.C. as a country lying to the south and not included in any Chinese Kingdom. It was then known to the Chinese historians as "The Territory of the Hsi-nan"—meaning the southern Barbarians—and its inhabitants were called "ungovernable vermin". Local legend asserts that the Thai of Nan Chao were of Indian origin coming originally from the valley of the Indus. From the first mention in Chinese history up to modern times the Thai have never been called Chinese nor have they been claimed to be Chinese either by themselves or by the Chinese and to this day the Thai in Yunnan are called "Pa-yi" by the Chinese. Throughout Chinese history their name has constantly been changed. For many centuries they were called Hsi-nan. In 225 B.C. they were called P'u-jen and the term "vermin" dropped though they were always called ungovernable. Later they were called Tien-jen and then Luchao, i.e. the inhabitants of Nan Chao. From 225 B.C. up to the 17th century when Yunnan was finally incorporated in the Chinese Empire Yunnan was called by many different names by the Chinese historians but they state quite clearly that the Thai themselves always referred to their country as Nan Chao.

It is stated in the "History of the Southern Princes" that King Asoka of Magada (now called Bihar) lived for a time at Tali-fu then ruled over by an Indian prince, and that he there married a princess from Tali-fu called Ch'ien-meng-kui. By her he had three sons, the eldest being called Ti-meng-ch'ien-fu-le. The latter's eldest son was called Meng-cu-fu and he became the

ancestor of the sixteen kingdoms. One of his descendants in the direct line, Prince Jen-kue, became King of Tien, 122-117 B.C., and from the latter was descended the long line of kings of Nan Chao.

The country around Tali-fu to this day (1890) is full of legends of King Asoka and his three sons and there are still many annual ceremonies carried out by the local Thai in memory of his sons thus suggesting that this land was ruled over by Indian princes two thousand years ago.

The legend as it is nowadays related states that many centuries before the founding of the Kingdom of Tien at Tali in 280 B.C. a prince of the Indian dynasty named Prince Ah-in then ruling at Tali was caught up into the clouds and there married a heavenly virgin by whom he had three sons. The oldest was called Kin Mah (Golden Horse), the second son Pichi (Jade Fowl), and the third was named Peh-fan (meaning "Plain Rice") because he was such a strict Buddhist and ate only plain rice. He lived at Tali. There are still memorials to these three princes at Tali. Prince Peh-fan is now known as Prince Peh-wang (White Prince). His tomb is situated at the entrance to a cave at the foot of the Ti-shi mountain behind the village of Shwang-iten which is about 12 *li*, (3 Chinese *li* = 1 English mile?) from the north gate of Tali-fu. His palace stood on the main street of Tali and was destroyed after the capitulation of Tali to the Chinese and a Confucian temple erected on the site. On the 16th day of the 3rd moon every year (this being the first day of the great fair at Tali-fu) a ceremony is held attended by all the high officials, in which two hundred soldiers fire off three volleys in order to appease the soul of the White Prince so that he may not incite the people to rebellion.

The names of the first and second princes are perpetuated in the names of two mountains which lie to the west of Yunnan-fu. One is called Kin-mah-shan and the other Pi-chi-shan. (The private names of these three princes were Fu-pan, Uen-teh and Ci-teh.) The names of the mountains originated in the following manner. Their father Prince Ah-in whilst living at Yunnan-fu

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had a very fine golden coloured (chesnut) stallion which both Fu-pan and Uen-teh wanted and they were constantly quarrelling about it. Their father in order to settle their bickerings said: "Whosoever can catch it, it shall be his." So he let the stallion loose. Prince Oi-teh caught it on the east hill so that hill was called ever after Kin-mah-shan. One day Fu-pan and Uen-teh were strolling upon the west hill and saw a very beautiful bird which was unknown to the farmers. They called it the Jade Fowl, hence the name of the mountain.

Prince Ah-in—otherwise King Asoka—the father of these three sons, after the duration of some years at Tali returned to India leaving his wife and sons behind. After a lapse of two or three years he sent his mother-in-law accompanied by soldiers as an escort to bring his wife and sons to India. When they reached Yang-ch'ang-fu the barbarians refused them passage so they returned to India while the sons remained in Yunnan as ruling princes and died there. Their father then sent orders to Yunnan from India that their spirits should be made the tutelary deities of these two mountains in their memory. In 73 A.D. it is recorded that the Emperor Suien-ti, hearing of this legend, sent a high official to make a sacrifice to their spirits in his name and this is recorded in the Chinese history of that period.

### *The foundation of the Tien Dynasty.*

After a long interval records of this part of Yunnan begin to appear in Chinese historical manuscripts. Under the Chou Dynasty 1112 B.C. Yunnan appears under the name of Shan-tsan. Only the name is known and no account of its rulers is given.

In 280-220 B.C. General Chuan-Chao was sent by the Chinese Emperor to conquer Szu-chuan and to explore the Yangtze River. He arrived on the shores of Yunnan Lake but his road back to China was blocked by a war between two neighbouring kingdoms therefore he stayed there and made himself king of all that land, calling it Tien Kuo; and thus was founded the dynasty of Tien. However, the western part of Yunnan around the shores of Tali Lake was still ruled over by the descendants of the Indian princes.

187-140 B.C. The Emperor Wu-ti sent messages to the King of Tien to seek a road to Shen-ta-ku (in India; the region of the basin of the Indus) to make enquiries regarding the Buddhist religion from a noted Buddhist monk who lived at Tien. The King of Tien asked these messengers "Which is the greater, the Kingdom of Han or my Kingdom?" This was reported to the Emperor on their return and it enraged him so he sent troops to attack Tien and conquered it.

*122-117 B.C. The foundation of the Pai-tzu-kuo Kingdom.*

In 122-117 B.C. Prince Jen Kuo, a descendant in the direct line from King Asoka, ruled over the western portion of Tien and Prince Ch'ang-ch'eng, a descendant of General Chuan-ch'ia, ruled over the eastern part around Yunnan Lake. It is stated that both these princes were called by the title of *chao*.

A quarrel arose between them and they fought. The Emperor Wu-ti of the Han Dynasty favoured and assisted Prince Jen Kuo and Prince Ch'ang-ch'eng was defeated. Prince Jen Kuo was then elected by the people to rule over both Eastern and Western Tien. He called his kingdom Pai-tzu-kuo and changed his capital from Tali to Ch'ang-ch'eng southeast of Yunnan-fu.

At this date and for some centuries earlier, the religion of the people of Pai-tzu-kuo had been Buddhism, introduced direct from India, and it is recorded in Chinese history that in 20 A.D. a certain Chang-chiang, King of Pai-tzu-kuo, was such a devoted Buddhist that he completely neglected his duties as a ruler; the people therefore deposed him and invited a member of the Peh-nai family—a direct descendant of the Indian rulers of Tali—to rule over them.

From 122 B.C. to 225 A.D. the records are very few and the Kingdom of Pai-tzu-kuo is seldom mentioned in Chinese history.

*208 A.D. The foundation of the Ailo-kuo Kingdom.*

The founder of the Ailo Kingdom was Prince Chin-lung (descended in direct line from King Asoka) with his Tali wife,



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Ch'ien-meng-kui, through his son Ti-meng-ch'ien-fu-le, to Meng-chu who was the ancestor of Prince Chin-lung and so also of the celebrated Meng family which ruled at Nan Chao from 649 A.D. to 902. In 69 A.D. the King of Ailo submitted to the Imperial rule.

The Kingdom of Ailo was the name given to that country by the barbarians who ruled it. The Chinese called it Jung Chow or Shen-to-kuo. The name Shen-tu-kuo, however, was considered by other Chinese historians to be a name for that part of India in the basin of the Indus. These latter say that Chin-lung ruled over it and that it had no intercourse with China.

### *58 A.D. The foundation of the Six Kingdoms of Nan Chao.*

In 50 A.D. the Kingdom of Ailo combined with the neighbouring tribes and revolted against Chinese suzerainty. These tribes then divided themselves up into six kingdoms called "The Six Kingdoms of Nan Chao". Each kingdom was quite independent of the others and was ruled over by its own hereditary prince. Five of these kingdoms were Thai in race while the sixth was called the Na-khi with its capital at Li Chiang. The Na-khi was a Mongolian tribe of Tibeto-Burman stock; they were hill-dwellers, and in no way related to the Thai.

In 225 A.D. the Emperor Hou-ti attacked the state of Shu in Yunnan. He stopped at Pai-ngai and found reigning there Prince Lu-yu-na, a descendant from Prince Jen-Kuo in the 18th generation.

### *226 A.D. The true history of the Nan Chao Kingdom.*

In 226 A.D. the Marquis Chu-ko-liang of Shantung was sent by the Emperor Wu-ti to quell a rebellion against Chinese authority at Ailo. This rebellion was started by a Chinese official called Yang-kai and he was joined by Prince Meng-kuo, a hereditary prince of one of the six Nan Chao Kingdoms. He was a descendant in the direct line from King Asoka of the 38th generation. At this period of history Prince Lung-ya-na—also a descendant from King Asoka through Prince Jen-Kuo—was king of the region south of Tali and his kingdom was called Petzu.

the first time, the latter was escorted as a prisoner to the Marquis's tent. The Marquis dressed in full uniform was waiting to receive him. After saluting his prisoner, Chu-ko-liang said: "My late master treated you most graciously, for what reason therefore have you rebelled against his son, my present master?"

Prince Meng-kuo replied: "All eastern and western Szechuan at one time belonged to others; now it belongs to your Emperor, but he took it by force. My country of Tien belongs to me and my people, as it did to my ancestors for many generations, and then you, in the name of your Emperor, come with an army to seize it. Why should I not rebel?"

The Marquis replied: "You are my prisoner, my captive. Will you or will you not submit to the Imperial ruler?"

The Prince answered: "Alas, you only captured me by a trick and good luck. I refuse to submit or to owe allegiance to your Emperor. Though you call us barbarians and say that we are savages living beyond the bounds of civilization, nevertheless, my people have perfect confidence in fighting you until at last we are victorious. Why should we be your slaves? Only if my people are conquered will I submit. I personally might perhaps be willing to surrender but my people never."

The Marquis was so pleased with the defiant answer of this courageous man that he released the Prince, gave him a banquet, presented him with a horse magnificently caparisoned, bestowed many valuable presents on him and provided him with an escort so that he might reach home safely.

The above is the story of the first occasion on which the Marquis Chu-ko-liang captured Prince Meng-kuo. How he captured him by strategy on five further occasions is related in detail in Yang-tsai's narrative. He did not conquer him in battle. Each time he captured him, the Marquis asked the Prince to recognise the Emperor's authority and each time the Prince refused with a defiant answer and each time the Marquis released him. Finally Prince Meng-kuo was defeated in battle and captured for the seventh time.

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The Marquis ordered the Prince to be brought before him, told the escort to unbind him and invited him to a sumptuous feast. The day after this an officer came to the Prince's tent and said: "The Marquis does not wish to see you again—I am sent to set you free so that you may fight him again. Here is a saddled horse so that you may ride away." The Prince burst into tears saying: "Seven times now have I been mercifully released by my captor. Surely the like of this has never been known in history. I should be a most wicked and ungrateful man if I ever rebelled again."

The Prince then sent messengers for his wife, children and relatives and led them with partly uncovered bodies and bowed heads to the Marquis's tent. They all bowed their heads to the ground and the Prince said: "Your mercy and kindness is like that of Heaven. We will never rebel again." Marquis Chu-ko-liang then asked: "Will Your Excellency now submit to my Emperor's authority?" Prince Meng-kuo with the tears streaming down his face said: "I and my sons will forever remember your mercy and for all time will remain loyal to your Master the Emperor." The Marquis then gave him another banquet and returned him to his Kingdom of Tien to rule again.

One day soon after the above occurrence the Chief Secretary in conversation with the Marquis remarked: "Now that this difficult campaign is over and Prince Meng-kuo restored to his kingdom would it not be advisable to appoint a representative of the Emperor to live here and maintain our prestige?" The Marquis replied: "There are three important objections to your idea. Firstly, if such an official is appointed we must leave a large body of troops here to protect him and maintain his prestige and these troops will have to be paid and fed. Secondly, the *Tai* value their lives very lightly for they are always killing their fathers, their brothers and one another. Thirdly, they would not submit to any punishment by a Chinese official. If I leave no officials behind me when I go I shall be saved an infinity of future trouble. As they are *Tai* they can best manage their own affairs themselves."

The *T'ai* men were not the only ones who fought for their freedom, for their women were just the same. Prince Meng-kuo had been captured and released five times by the Marquis Chu-ko-liang. He was now fighting the Marquis for the sixth time and his troops had just been defeated. He was sitting in his tent when the fugitives arrived, told him of their defeat and that the Chinese army was close upon him. He was greatly agitated over the news and sat thinking of what he could do. In his reverie he heard a light laugh behind him and a voice saying: "Do you call yourself a man that you sit there and do nothing? If I were not a woman I would lead your troops against them myself." He looked round and saw that the speaker was his wife Chu-yong. She was a descendant of a prince who lived before the Emperor Yao B.C. 2300. She was an expert in throwing knives.

Upon this Prince Meng-kuo entrusted her with one hundred of his bravest officers and five thousand of his best troops. She led them through the Yui-kon Pass and attacked Chang-in, the Marquis-General. She had five sharp knives strapped in a case on her back and held a long lance in her right hand. General Chang-in was surprised to see a woman leading the *T'ai* troops and closed up to them. Chu-yong then suddenly retreated and was at once followed by Chang-in. She turned round and threw a knife at him which stuck in his left shoulder. He fell from his horse and her soldiers took him prisoner. Ma-chong, another general, was also captured.

Prince Meng-kuo was overjoyed to see these two prisoners and entertained his wife to a banquet. While feasting she ordered the two prisoners to be led in with the intention of beheading them. Prince Meng-kuo however strongly objected. He spared their lives because the Marquis had spared his on five occasions, and to execute them would therefore be most ungrateful. He proposed however to hold them prisoner until he had captured the Marquis; and to this his wife agreed.

The defeated Chinese troops returned and reported full particulars to the Marquis, who, the following day, led out his

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troops in person to attack. Chu-yong met him and engaged him. After a few rounds he appeared to retreat; Chu-yong refused to follow him. The next day the two armies again fought, the Marquis retreated, and again Chu-yong refused to follow him; she stuck her lance upright in the ground and returned home. General Wei followed her with his Chinese troops and cursed her in most abusive language calling her a coward. She thereupon turned her horse and attacked him furiously. He had previously prepared a trap for her by stretching ropes across the road. Chu-yong's horse stumbled over these ropes, fell, and threw her. She was at once captured, bound and led before the Marquis. Her troops made a brave attempt to rescue her but were repulsed.

The Marquis was sitting in his tent when Chu-yong was brought in. He at once ordered that she should be unbound, gave her a tent for her private use and a feast to dispel her fears. He then sent an officer to Prince Meng-kuo to arrange an exchange of prisoners and to exchange his generals Chang-in and Ma-chong for Chu-yong.

The following narration of an incident in Marquis Chu-ko-liang's campaign is of interest because it tells of the first detailed and authentic use of gunpowder and cannon in warfare. The Chinese classics relate that gunpowder had been used by the Chinese for centuries before this but for fireworks; and Europe has always prided itself on being the first to use it in warfare in the 12th century A. D.

This narrative also describes the use of a small cannon which fired many balls simultaneously. This therefore should be the precursor of the French *mitrailleuse* invented in the early 19th century and closely followed by the Gatling and Maxim guns. The idea therefore seems to have lain dormant in China for 1700 years. (226 A.D.!).

It is related that during the war carried on by the Marquis Chu-ko-liang against Prince Meng-kuo of Tien the former arranged

an ambush in a ravine for Meng-kuo's troops. Prince Wu, who was Prince Meng-kuo's general, was advancing to attack. "There was not a single Chinese soldier in sight. The entrance to the ravine had been blocked with felled trees and rocks, so Prince Wu ordered his troops to clear away the obstacle. Suddenly in front of them several large heaps of brush wood blazed up and this made Prince Wu suspicious, so he ordered a retreat.

"It was at once reported to him however that even larger fires were now burning in his rear and that gunpowder was exploding at the lower entrance to the ravine. As he could see neither grass nor brushwood in the ravine he was not frightened of the fire spreading. When however the troops tried to escape, the Chinese threw flaming torches from the sides of the ravine. The oiled rush armour of Prince Wu's troops soon caught fire and the flames spread rapidly. The lighted torches set fire to trains of gunpowder laid in bamboo poles; and these exploding, ignited buried cannon which fired in all directions. Soon the whole ravine was full of flames and smoke and that day Prince Wu and his whole army perished."

As the Marquis standing on a high place watched the carnage, the smell of burning flesh was unbearable. He wept saying: "Although this has been necessary in order that I might finish what I set out to do for my Emperor and the country, yet an enormous sacrifice of life has been involved and for that reason my life will be cut short. I was obliged to use this last scheme as all the others had failed, the enemy refusing to be conquered. My virtue and my good name however are blemished because of the great sacrifice of life. The enemy thought I lay in ambush for them but they were wrong for I hoisted my flag and led the van myself and not a man nor beast of ours has been lost. Every officer has done his duty most faithfully. The cannon were each composed of nine small ones, bound together with strips of brass and were fired by trains of gunpowder. The oiled rush armour of the enemy though sword and waterproof had to yield to fire.

Alas ! not one is saved to have a son and my sin is great. All my success is due to the accurate way in which my officers have carried out my orders."

All his officers and men bowed complimenting him and saying : "Your tactics were inspired by Heaven, the very Gods and demons cannot stand up against you."

From 230 A. D. until 649 the western part of Yunnan was governed by the six hereditary princes of the Six Kingdoms of Nan Chao. They comprised an area of four thousand *li* from east to west and two thousand *li* from north to south.

The form of government in these six kingdoms appears to have been in a very advanced state if compared with Europe of that time.

#### *The Six Kingdoms of Nan Chao*

As to when these were first settled no date is given. Prince Hsi-ne-le ruled the land south of the other five kingdoms from Yung-chang-fu to Yao-chew. Prince Ten-shing resided at Ten-c'-wan-chew. Prince Shi-lang resided at Ch'ien-c'wan-chew. Prince Tieh-chieh ruled at Li-chiang-fu (Na-khi). Prince Meng-shi ruled at Ming-nen-fu now called Szu-chuan. Prince Lau-kong ruled at Lau-kong-hsien.

The historian Yang-rzsi says: "The time covered by these six kingdoms is so long and the records so scarce that I have not been able to collect any more information."

In 649 A. D. Chang-le-chin, King of Ailo, abdicated in favour of Prince Hsi-ne-le, a member of the Meng family descended in direct line from Prince Jen-kuo. He was a descendant of the celebrated Prince Meng-kuo. This Kingdom of Ailo was the most southern one of the Six Kingdoms. The six princes of Nan Chao each ruled his own kingdom till 731 A.D. but the Meng princes of Ailo were always the most important.

In 729 Prince Pi-lo-ke came to the throne of Ailo when he was 31 years old. He was soon dissatisfied however that there

should be five other princes of rank equal to himself. So he made a plan to murder them and then himself to combine the Six Kingdoms into one and rule over it himself. He then enlisted the sympathy of a high official named Wong who was stationed at Ch'ien-c'wan-fu, Szu-chuan, and through him suggested to the Emperor that if there was only one prince to deal with in that part of the country it would be of great advantage to the Imperial government, as one ruler could keep much better order than six. This suggestion received the approval and sanction of the Emperor.

Prince Pi-lo-ke then sent invitations to the other five Nan Chao princes and their sons to meet him at Meng-wha-ting on the 24th day of the 6th Moon of the year 731 A. D. in order to sacrifice to the spirits of their Indian ancestors. The Prince of Li-chiang-a Na-Khi refused the invitation. Prince U-tsen of Tenc'wan-chew at first demurred and hesitated but finally accepted. His wife Tsi-shan however was suspicious of Prince Pi-lo-ke's intentions and persuaded her husband to wear an iron bracelet as an amulet supposed to render him sword and daggerproof. Prince Pi-lo-ke erected a large hall made of pitch pine for the celebrations. The Princes and their sons met and performed the sacrifice. After it Prince Pi-lo-ke entertained them to a feast in the pitch pine hall and there made them drunk and insensible. After dark he surrounded the hall with soldiers, set it on fire and the four Tsi princes and their sons perished in the flames.

Prince Pi-lo-ke then sent a message to their wives to come and remove any remains of their husbands' corpses that they could find. Tsi-shan was the only one who found anything recognizable, namely, an iron bracelet round a charred arm bone which she took home with her.

Pi-lo-ke then thought it a good opportunity to increase his harem by taking these four widows into it. Tsi-shan was a very beautiful and intelligent woman. He sent a troop of soldiers to capture her, but she reached her city in time, shut the gates and called upon her people to save her. "Can I ever forget my



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husband's cruel death? No, never! I will die first." The soldiers besieged the city and soon the provisions failed so rather than give herself up, she took poison and died on the 23rd day of the 7th moon at a place now called Ten-rien-cen which is 20 *li* north-east of Ten-c'wan-chew.

Both these historical events are celebrated nowadays (1890) by local customs and ceremonies. To this day on the 24th day of the 6th Moon each year all the people in the district round Tali hold the "He-pa-chieh" or "Firebrand Feast". The farmers in the evening run round the boundaries of their fields with lighted torches. In some villages they erect long stacks of straw and in the evening set fire to them. When the fire is well alight the young married men try to seize the topmost flag. He who gets it will have a son within the year and be prosperous. In the city of Tali-fu the majority of the people run about their compounds with a lighted bundle of bamboos and this action is said to preserve the family from sickness till the next celebrations. So through the centuries they have given this cold blooded murder a lucky significance. In many of the villages along the Tali Lake they have societies whose members celebrate a feast on the 23rd day of the 7th moon, the day of the tragic end of Tsi-shan.

From 729 A.D. till 902 the Six Kingdoms of Nan Chao were ruled by one king as one kingdom and the kings were all members of the Meng family. There were 13 generations and they ruled for 173 years. The words Nan Chao mean the Southern Kingdom. The word Chao means king.

In 739 some of the *Man-tsi* clans rebelled but Prince Pi-lo-ke soon reduced them to submission. Taking some of them as prisoners with him he journeyed northwards to interview the Emperor K'ai-uien. The Emperor received him very graciously, bestowed high titles upon him, gave him many presents, and requested him to build many cities in his kingdom.

Upon his return to Nan Chao Prince Pi-lo-ke used his *Man-tsi* prisoners to build the city of T'ai-he. Its present site is the village of the same name near the Kwan-in-tang 15 *li* south of

Tali-fu. He also built the town of Tali which is now the large village of Shi-chew 40 *li* north of the present Tali-fu. The Emperor K'ai-nein made Pi-lo-ke's son a general and stationed him at Meng-hwa.

In 740 a man named Meu-chao rebelled and captured the cities of Ch'ien-c'wan-lau-kong and Yong-changfu. In 741 King Pi-lo-ke recaptured these cities. In 742 he moved from Meng-hwa and lived at Tai-he. He also built the Hsia and Shan Kwans calling them the Long-tow and Leng-wi: i.e. the dragon's head and tail. In 746 he built the city of Tali-fu. He died in 749 having ruled 20 years and was succeeded by his son Ko-le-fung.

At the time of the death of Prince Pi-lo-ke the government of Nan Chao was in an advanced state of efficiency for those days as compared with Europe. There were eight ministers to manage the legislation, civil and military affairs, nine executive officers, a president over the mandarins, an officer for the census, military instructors, judges, commissioners of works and of the Board of Trade, three officers to take charge of the government granaries, one superintendent of horses and one also for cattle, a commander in chief, a commissariat officer and eight prefects; two brigadier-generals, one stationed at Hwu-li-ch'ee Si-l' wein and the other at Tong-hai-hsien. There were 35 military officers in command of troops, stationed in various places east of Tali but only two west of this city. Brave deeds and efficient administration were rewarded by gifts of gorgeous clothes.

The Imperial government of China does not seem to have exercised much power either in Yunnan or in Szu-chuan till the 12th century. The usual order of things was as follows. Sometimes the aboriginal rulers of these provinces visited the Emperor by whom they were received and given presents and honours. The Imperial government sometimes sent a Resident, and a military administration was frequently made in order to overawe the natives, but such a weak system of supervision had little durable effect.

*Prince Ko-le-fung.*

He began to rule in 749 A.D. when he was 36 years old. The Emperor Tien-pao sent Li-kiu-ih to install him as King of Nan Chao.

In 751 the Prince took his wife on a visit to General Li-mi. Whilst on the journey the people complained against two Chinese officers Chang and Chia for base conduct. Prince Ko-le-fung sent Captain Yang to inform the Emperor who refused to listen to the charge. This enraged Prince Ko-le-fung so he took affairs into his own hands. He sent General Wang with troops against Chang who was defeated and afterwards poisoned himself. The Emperor then decided to punish Prince Ko-le-fung and sent 80,000 men under Generals Suen and Chang for that purpose. This frightened Prince Ko-le-fung so he met these officers on the way, acknowledged his fault and requested them to disband their troops. This they refused to do and the Chinese army entered Yunnan. Prince Ko-le-fung then sent two officers to negotiate, but General Suen made them prisoners and forwarded them to the Emperor. General Wang with several thousand troops was sent to attack Tali as Prince Ko-le-fung despatched his son Fung-cia-ih and General T'wan to resist the Imperial army.

A great battle was fought near Hsia-kwan, the Chinese being badly defeated and 60,000 of their troops being killed. Ko-le-fung then caused an enormous grave pit (a *wang zai-fen* or myriad tomb) to be dug with this inscription beside it, "The Tomb of the Chinese". This grave is still to be seen near the east entrance to the Hsia-kwan.

In the last moon of 753 the Emperor T'ien-pao tried to buy over Prince Ko-le-fung. He sent Commissioners Ih and Lo with costly embroidered silk robes and various presents, styled him brother and gave him a gold seal. He also sent robes to Fung-cia-ih and made him a general. In the 6th moon of 755 A.D. the Emperor T'ien-pao sent another army under General Li and Ho to subjugate

Nan Chao. Prince Ko-le-fung again sent Fung-cia-ih and General Twan against them and again the Imperial army was annihilated. The Chinese historians estimate that the losses of the Imperial troops in their various battles against Prince Ko-le-fung were not less than 2,000,000 men.

In 765 Fung-cia-ih built the city of Yunnan-fu. The walls of this city still stood in 1383 when they were rebuilt.

Prince Ko-le-fung died in the year 799 having ruled 30 years. His son Fung-cia-ih died before him so his grandson Ih-me-su-in succeeded him. When Prince Ko-le-fung so successfully threw off the Imperial yoke he set up a large tablet to commemorate the event. The draft of the inscription was drawn up by Ch'en-hwei and engraved on the statue by U-shih. This tablet of stone is probably the largest in South China. It is still to be seen on the road from Hsia-kwan to Tali about 8  $\frac{1}{2}$  from Hsia-kwan on the west side of the road. The tablet has fallen and now lies on its side. It is engraved on both sides and many characters can still be deciphered. The local name for it is Mau-chow-pei; i.e. the Tablet of the Southern Princes.

*Prince Ih-me-su-in.*

He was 24 years old when he began to reign. Shortly after coming to the throne he raised an army of 30,000 men to attack Szu-chuan. The Emperor sent General Li to resist him but he was badly defeated. In 784 he divided Nan Chao into nine provinces, the area of his kingdom at that time being roughly the same as that of Yunnan at the present time.

At about this date he decided to join his kingdom with China. This greatly enraged the Tu-fan or Tibetans who rebuked him and persuaded him from doing so.

The Emperor appointed one Kao as Resident of Nan Chao. In 794 A.D. Kao was appointed governor. In 795 the Tibetans waged war against Nan Chao. They fought a battle near the river

bridge and brass column which marked the boundary between Nan Chao and Tibet about 250 *li* north of Likiang-fu. The Tibetans were thoroughly defeated, a great number of prisoners and much spoil being captured. Prince Ih-me-su-in then sent his brother Prince Tse and an officer to the Emperor with a despatch announcing his victory and also forwarded a map of the conquered country which the Emperor Chen-tien acknowledged sending in return gold and silver seals.

During the eight years following 796 Prince Ih-me-su-in waged continuous warfare with the Tibetans on his northern frontier. He obtained help from Governor Kao and severely defeated the Tibetans. He captured five Tibetan Princes and sent them as prisoners to the Imperial court.

He died in the 7th Moon of 809 having reigned 30 years. The Emperor U-ien sent an officer to sacrifice to his spirit. His son Su-in-ke-cwien succeeded him.

## *809 A.D. Prince Su-in-ke-cwien.*

He was 31 years old when he came to the throne. Upon his coronation, the Emperor U-ien-he gave him a gold seal and a very high honorific title. It was during his reign at Nan Chao that Yunnan-fu was called the Eastern Capital and Tali-fu the Western Capital.

He died on the 11th moon of 809 having ruled only one year and was succeeded by his son C'wien-long-chen.

## *810. A.D. Prince C'wien-long-chen.*

He was 12 years old when he came to the throne. In the following year he used 3,000 ounces of gold to make three Buddhas which he placed in a temple at Tali-fu. In 815 he attacked Kia-ting-chew, Szu-chuan, and was unsuccessful as his troops were scattered being frightened by a vision of troops fighting in the air. The inhabitants afterwards built a temple in Kia-ting-chew called the Fu-t'ien-shonmiao to commemorate this event.

Prince C'wien-long-chen grew up into a very wicked man and at his 19th year was murdered by one of his officials named Wang-kia and was succeeded by his brother C'wien-li.

*817 A.D. Prince C'wien-li.*

He was 15 years old when he succeeded.

In 820 the Emperor U-ien-he forgave Wang-kia for murdering Prince C'wien-long-chen but reduced him several grades in rank.

In 821 Prince C'wien-li repaired the San-lali-si the Three Pagodas northwest of Tali. During that year there was a great rise in the waters of the lake, as had been predicted many years before, caused, it was said, by an enormous serpent or dragon. The Prince offered a large reward to anyone who would kill it. A man named Twan-ci undertook the task. He bound knives round his body with the points projecting outward and jumped into the lake. He was promptly swallowed by the dragon and the high waters at once subsided. The monster was caught and killed and Twan-ci's body extracted from its stomach. Prince C'wien-li then had Twan-ci's corpse buried with great honour and erected a pagoda over his grave. In the Dragon Temple at the lake, east of Tali, there is a stone tablet recording the event. The dragon's bones were burnt in a pagoda erected on the spot. It is called the Ling-tali and is situated in the rear of Yang-pi village at the Hsia-kwan. It is still standing about 3 *li* west of the road to Tali.

The Emperor Chang-kui gave Prince C'wien-li a gold seal in 825 A.D.. In the same year Prince C'wien-li died in Yunnan-fu, having ruled for 8 years. He was succeeded by his brother Fong-yeh.

*825 A.D. Prince Fong-yeh.*

He came to the throne when only 7 years old. The Emperor Chang-kin sent an officer called Wai to represent him at the Coronation. In the same year the work of building temples and restoring the Three Pagodas was completed. These pagodas

still remain and also the two pagodas built originally in 631 A.D. They stand on the east side of the Wu-hwa-shan in Yunnan-fu. These also he repaired.

In 827 his mother became a Buddhist nun and she and others of her rank lived in the San-ta-si. She used 5,000 ounces of silver to decorate a room in the temple with little Buddhas. In this same year Prince Fong-yeh sent all the Taoist priests out of his kingdom of Wan Chao. Buddhism now had a tremendous revival and large sums of money were devoted to the temples. It is probable that about this date the very famous temples on the Chi mountains were built (100 *li* north-east of the lake) which are visited each year by many Tibetan pilgrims.

A Chinese mandarin named Tu, stationed at Chen-tu Szu-chuan, treated his Chinese troops so badly that many deserted and took refuge at Nan Chao. Prince Fong-yeh sent General Wang-kia with his army to investigate. They were attacked by Tu but Wang-Kia defeated him, held him for a time and then returned to Nan Chao with many prisoners and much spoil. Prince Fong-yeh then wrote to the Emperor T' ai-he in 831 advising him to punish Tu. The Emperor degraded Tu and appointed General Li-teh in his place. Some of General Li-teh's soldiers ... (insulted?) Prince Fong-yeh. So in the 5th moon of 832 he led 400 soldiers into Szu-chuan to attack General Li-teh. From this date and onwards until 1600 there is frequent mention of military operation against the Chan (Cham ?) who then occupied what is now Annam.

Prince Fong-yeh appears to have studied the interests of his people. He drained large areas of marsh land into the lake. In one place in the Li-hu ravine about 10 *li* south of Tali he built a strong dam forming a large reservoir so that in dry season the water could be led off by canals to irrigate the rice fields. This work still exists and its local name is "Kao-no" i.e. "The High Pool."

In the 6th moon of 843 Prince Fong-yeh was very anxious because of a long draught which caused his people much suffering.

He went to an old Buddhist monk for advice. The monk reproved him for his excessive love of wine and women and told him to repent. He at once amended his ways and rain then fell in abundance.

In 859 Prince Fong-yeh sent help to the King of Burma to assist him in resisting an attack made on Burma by the Lion Kingdom (possibly the Mon Kingdom of Siam). In the Han Dynasty Burma was called "T'an" and during the T'ang Dynasty "Piao".

The year 860 A.D. was very eventful. Governor Li-teh of Szu-chuan invaded Nan Chao with an army of 100,000 men. Prince Fong-yeh routed that army near Ch'ien-chang-fu in Szu-chuan. Soon after this General Li-teh was beheaded by Imperial order.

About this time some Imperial troops in Szu-chuan rebelled, joined the Tibetans and attacked Nan Chao. General Wang-kia fought them near the iron bridge on the Tibetan frontier and slaughtered 10,000 Chinese.

After a very useful reign of 35 years Prince Fong-yeh died in Yunnan-fu in 860 and was succeeded by his son Shi-leng. Because Prince Shi-leng was only in his 16th year General Wang-kia acted as Regent. Prince Fong-yeh in 859 had sent General Twan-seng to help the Burmese against an attack by the Lion Kingdom. The Burmese with this assistance were successful and on General Twan-seng's setting out to return to Nan Chao they presented him with a gold Buddha. General Wang-kia went to welcome Twan-seng on his return from Burma and as a compliment to him worshipped his golden Buddha. Whilst in the act of presentation General Twan-seng beheaded General Wang-kia because he had murdered Prince O'wien-leng-chen in 817 A. D. This was a very critical time for Prince Shi-leng for an influential minister named Chen-nai-i tried to murder him but did not succeed.

#### *860 A.D. Prince Shi-leng.*

The mother of Prince Shi-leng was a fisherman's daughter of extraordinary beauty. An account of his conception is given in



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the "History" but is not fit to be recorded. The Emperor Ta-chang proposed to give Prince Shi-leng a wife from the Imperial Household, but when he heard of the low birth of the Prince's mother, he consulted soothsayers and had Prince Shi-leng's future forecast and after that refused to send the lady. At this time the Prince's mother had become a nun.

During the Meng Dynasty at Nan Chao several of the Kings had sent tribute to the Imperial government, but Prince C'wien-long-chan and Fong-yeh had not done so and neither did Prince Shi-leng. The Emperor therefore sent an army to demand the tribute but Prince Shi-leng attacked and thoroughly defeated it. In 863 he fought the Chinese in Szu-chuan and there he took a stone Buddha very much revered by the natives, as a prize.

Soon after this great discontent reigned amongst his troops because the stores of food had failed and general desertion was threatened. Prince Shi-leng sought the advice of a Buddhist monk called Song who, by invoking the sand of the river bank, changed it into rice and the water of the river into wine, so each man was filled to repletion.

During one of his excursions into Szu-chuan one of his generals named Tong-chon was taken prisoner by the Chinese. Prince Shi-leng then requested the Emperor to order his release ; and, on this being done, an embassy was sent in 870 to the Emperor to thank him.

In 871 he made another raid upon Szu-chuan and after taking several cities attacked Chen-tu. Governor Lu sent a party of officers to try and arrange matters, and meanwhile the Emperor sent Generals Jen and Seng with an army to assist him. These officers attacked Prince Shi-leng and repulsed him.

In 874 he did some fighting in Kweichow and again in Szu-chuan. His general named Hwang was defeated and returned to Nan Chao for more men. This time he sent an officer named Wang with forty men to Governor Lu conveying a letter to be forwarded

to the Emperor. Governor Lu imprisoned 38 of the party. Prince Shi-leng with his army then retreated to Nan Chao.

In 876 he again attacked Yah-Choo but Governor Kao repulsed him killing fifty of his men, retook the cities and drove the Prince down the Yangtse River. In 877 A.D. Prince Shi-leng received an Imperial officer with peace negotiations but he would only negotiate with a Buddhist monk as an intermediary. Governor Kao sent a monk with proposals which however were not acceptable. In this year the Prince made his last attack on Szu-chuan and was defeated by Governor Kao.

He fell sick with a virulent fever and died in the Kui-tsin Temple in Ueh-shi-ting in Szu-chuan after an eventful reign of 18 years. He was succeeded by his son Leng-shwen. Prince Shi-leng after his death was given the posthumous title of Emperor and this was done to all the following Kings of Nan Chao for nearly 44 years until Kublai Khan conquered Nan Chao in 1253. The title, however was never given to them during their life time so evidently the Emperor of China did not object (?)

*878 A.D. Prince Leng-shwen.*

He was 17 years old when he began to rule. Fearing the Emperor's displeasure he sent an embassy to sue for peace and it was granted. In 880 he wrote a letter to the Emperor using an improper address. This caused much amusement at the Imperial Court when it was read and a struggle occurred between the members of the Court and the embassy which objected to being laughed at. The Emperor had to part them.

There was a great deal of trouble at Nan Chao at this time and, as a politic move, the Emperor, Cheng-he, sent a very friendly letter to Prince Leng-shwen. In 884 the Emperor sent a princess of the Royal Household as a wife.

The next year King Chi-uien suggested that he would also provide him with a princess for a wife. Prince Leng-shwen approved of the idea and sent three of his chief officials to escort

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her to Nan Chao. Emperor Kao hearing of this sent a secret letter by fast couriers to King Chi-uein telling him not to allow the princess to leave and advising him to poison the three officials. King Chi-uein received the officials with great courtesy, invited them to a banquet and then poisoned them.

In 887 the Hisia and Shan Kwans were greatly damaged by a serious earthquake.

Prince Leng-shwen was a most sensual and dissipated man, useless as a ruler, leaving the whole of the administration of Nan Chao entirely to his officials. He was therefore greatly disliked by his people. In 898 he murdered several of his servants, being instigated to do so by some of his concubines. He was hated by his servants and one of them named Yang murdered him at Yunnan-fu. He reigned for 20 years, was given posthumous honours as an Emperor and was succeeded by his son Shwen-hwa.

*898 A.D. Prince Shwen-hwa.*

He was 21 years old when he came to the throne. In 900 the Emperor Kang-ming established five colleges in Nan Chao. In the 11th moon of this year Prince Shwen-hwa executed Yang and all his family to avenge his father's murder.

In 901 he cast a very large figure of Kwan-in sixteen feet high and sent Chen-nai to collect copper for it from sixteen different mines. He ruled for five years and died in 903.

Prince Shwen-hwa left a small son only eight months old to succeed him and this child fell a victim to court intrigues. Cheng-mai-su, a cruel and ambitious man, took charge of the government of Nan Chao. He advised Prince Shwen-hwa's widow to leave the infant prince under his charge until he was of age and able to govern. She complied and gave the child into his care. Cheng-mai-su then injured the child's testicles by crushing them. As it then cried unceasingly the mother asked for its return suspecting foul play. That same evening the infant prince died. Cheng-mai-su then became frightened that the mother would

revenge herself on him so, to save himself and in order to secure the throne of Nan Chao for himself, he gathered some soldiers and murdered all the Meng family and their relations that he could find. In all he murdered over 800 of Meng family beneath "The Five Glory" tower in Tali-fu. This ended the Meng family which had ruled at Nan Chao for 225 years from Prince Hsi-me-le in 694 A.D. until the death of Prince Shwen-hwa in 903.

There were 13 generations of the Meng Dynasty.

*903 A.D. The Tu-chung-me-kuo Dynasty of Nan Chao.*

This dynasty was founded by Cheng-mai-su. He was a Chinese and formerly held office at Ueh-chew Szu-chuan. Because of his evil deeds and peculations he had to flee to Nan Chao where he obtained employment under Prince Leng-shwen. He soon gained influence and power under that prince who, as a ruler, did not bother to control Cheng-mai-su. During Prince Shwen-hwa's reign he was appointed First Grand Secretary. Cheng-mai-su began his reign in the 11th moon of 903 A.D. being 42 years old. He made Tali-fu his capital.

In 910 he built a temple in San-tah-su and decorated it with 10,000 Buddhas as a thank offering for having exterminated the House of Meng.

He died in the 4th moon of 911 having ruled 8 years and was succeeded by his son Ren-ming.

*911 A.D. Prince Ren-ming.*

He was 22 years old when he came to the throne.

In 913 he made an attack on Szu-chuan but was severely defeated and lost several thousand soldiers in the attempt.

In the 8th moon of 926 an abscess formed in his ear. It was excruciatingly painful so that it nearly drove him mad and at such times he would kill one of his servants. He died from the abscess in the same year. He ruled for 16 years and was succeeded by his son Long-tang.

926 A.D. *Prince Long-tang.*

He was 12 years old when he came to the throne.

In 929 General Yan-kan-cheng of Tong-c'wab killed him and made Chao-shan-cheng King of Nan Chao. General Yan-kan-cheng was a grandson of Cheng-mai-su who started the Ta-chang-no-kuo Dynasty in 903. This dynasty consisted of three generations and only ruled for 26 years.

929 A.D. *The Ta-t'ien-shing Dynasty.*

Chao-shan-cheng was born of very poor parents. On one occasion when he was gathering firewood on the hill side, being very tired, he fell asleep. He dreamt he saw a god who told him to awake as he had gathered the firewood for him. He awoke and saw ten bundles of firewood lying beside him. He became frightened, ran home and told his mother. She did not believe him, so took him by the hand and went to the place where he had slept and there saw the ten bundles of firewood lying on the ground. At once on returning home she consulted a soothsayer who told her it was a very good omen. Chao-shan-cheng then became an official under Cheng-mai-su. On one occasion when carrying out his official duties a large stone dropped from the sky and broke into two halves. Upon one piece his name was inscribed in red letters and there was an inscription saying that one day he would be king of Nan Chao. General Yan-kan-cheng heard this story and believed in the omen so he murdered Prince Long-tang and placed Chao-shan-cheng on the throne.

In 930 Prince Chao-shan-cheng began to treat General Yan-kan-cheng with great coolness and ignored him. This want of gratitude angered the General who consulted with his friends and then murdered Prince Chao-shan-cheng after he had only ruled for ten months. He then seized the throne for himself and ruled as King of Nan Chao calling his dynasty the Ta-i-ming Dynasty which lasted only until 937.

930 A.D. *The Ta-i-ming.*

Prince Yan-kan-cheng was a native of Ping-C'wan-chew. He was an illegitimate son of Prince Leng-shwen of the Meng Dynasty. He held office at Ten-c'wan-chew under Prince Cheng-mai-su. He was a bad ruler and was hated both by the officials and the people of his Kingdom.

In 935 General Twan-Ssu-ping of Teng-hai-hsien rebelled and led an army against Prince Yan-kan-cheng who was defeated and fled to escape capture. General Twan-Ssu-ping then made himself King of Nan Chao and changed the name of the dynasty to "Tali". The Nan Chao Yeh-sih states that Prince Twan-ssu-ping eventually captured Prince Yan-kan-cheng and did not kill him but forgave him. The latter then entered a monastery and became a Buddhist monk.

The Twan family was related to the Meng family and under that dynasty had been generals and high officers of state for many generations. Thus it could also trace its descent from King Asoka. Prince Twan-ssu-ping was the 6th generation after Twan-chien, a general of the Meng Dynasty of Nan Chao who fought under Prince Pi-lo-ke and thrice defeated the Chinese troops of the Emperor of the Han Dynasty in 525 A.D. near Tali Lake.

936 A.D. *The Tali Dynasty.*

This dynasty had fourteen rulers, holding the throne of Nan Chao from 936 to 1236.

The account of the conception of Prince Twan-ssu-ping is given in the "History" but it is too indecent and too ridiculous to record here. He had an eventful and adventurous life. He defeated Prince Yan-kan-cheng's brother at the Haei Kwan with the greatest ease and then captured Tali-fu. He ascended the throne of Nan Chao in 938 being then 44 years of age. He freely rewarded those who helped him to gain the throne. He was a very devoted Buddhist, was continually building temples and decorating them with brass Buddhas.

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He died in 944 having ruled six years and was succeeded by his son Si-in.

*944 A.D. Prince Si-in.*

He came to the throne in 944. It was soon evident however that as a most devoted Buddhist he was more fitted for a monastery than to rule the turbulent kingdom of Nan Chao. He ruled about a year and then abdicated in favour of his nephew Si-liang. He then entered a monastery and became a monk.

It was to this period that the temples of San-ta-si owed so much of their magnificence. Nowadays, that immense site is covered with a great heap of ruins. The Three Pagodas still remain however. The Great Pagoda is square and is built of huge bricks accurately cemented together.

The base is 11 yards on each side. There are sixteen caves tapering from the tenth cave up to the pinnacle. At the top is a spiral staircase surmounted by a huge globe gilded with gold leaf. The sides are thickly plastered and are decorated with hundreds of niches containing small Buddhas. This pagoda is about 300 feet high. After a walk through the ruins one comes to the remains of the large brass Kwan-in (already mentioned). The head is missing. The trunk is six feet high, across the breast it is four feet and the arm stumps are one foot wide.

*945 A.D. Prince Si-liang.*

He ruled for seven years and was succeeded by his son Si-tong. He died in 953.

*953 A.D. Prince Si-tong.*

He ruled for 17 years and died in 970. His son Shu-shwen succeeded him.

*970 A.D. Prince Shu-shwen.*

In 978 General Wang-chaun-pin after restoring peace in Szu-chuan made a map of Nan Chao and presented it to the Emperor for him to fix the frontiers between it and Szu-chuan.

The Emperor laid his jade axe on the line made by the Ta-tu River and said that all the land beyond this river should remain under the rule of the Southern Princes of Nan Chao.

Prince Shu-shwen died in 986 having ruled 16 years and was succeeded by his son Shu-yin.

*986 A.D. Prince Shu-yin.*

There is no other record of his reign. He died in 1010 having ruled 24 years and was succeeded by his son Shu-lien.

*1010 A.D. Prince Shu-lien.*

He ruled for 13 years and died in 1023 and was succeeded by his nephew Shu-long.

*1023 A.D. Prince Shu-long.*

After a rule of four years he became a Buddhist monk and abdicated in favour of his nephew.

*1027 A.D. Prince Shu-chen.*

He was a very sensual and licentious prince. He made a gorgeous flower garden in the grounds of his palace in Yunnan-fu. He kept a large harem with many concubines and encouraged prostitutes to frequent the palace grounds to dance and drink.

His officials and the people became so disgusted with his rule that they forced him to abdicate in favour of his cousin Si-lien.

*1045 A.D. Prince Si-lien.*

A *Man-tsi* prince named Beng-kao living near the Annam frontier rebelled and styled himself king of these regions. One of Prince Si-lien's generals, called Swai joined by a Chinese official, Governor Ti-a, attacked Beng-kao and defeated him. He fled to Tali-fu to sue for mercy; Prince Si-lien refused to grant it, beheaded him and sent his head to the Emperor Hwang-yeh. In 1064 another rebellion occurred headed by a person called Yang. A general called Kao quelled this rebellion and as a reward received a present of land at Hong-si.



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In 1076 Prince Si-lien became a Buddhist monk and abdicated in favour of his son.

### *1076 A.D. Prince Lien-i.*

He sent tribute to the Emperor Shi-ming. In the 5th year of his reign in 1081 he was murdered by Yang-i-chen who usurped the throne and reigned as King of Nan Chao for four months. General Kao then raised troops in the eastern part of the kingdom, put them in charge of his son Kai-shen-tai, attacked Yang-i-chen and killed him. He then placed Shee-hwei, a nephew of Prince Lien-i, on the throne. Descendants of Marquis Kao are still living in Yong-he-peh-ting. They are *Tu-si* or Hereditary Mandarins.

### *1081 A.D. Prince Shee-hwei.*

He made Marquis Kao, his chief counsellor, Minister of State and gave him the title of Marquis. In this year there was an eclipse of the sun and stars were visible in the daytime. The Prince regarded this as a sign that he should no longer reign, so he abdicated in favour of Si-lien's grandson Chen-ming.

### *1082 A.D. Prince Chen-ming.*

He was a very bad king and useless as a ruler. This disgusted his people, not only against himself but against his whole house. The officials and people therefore forced him to abdicate after 13 years of unpopular rule. He became a Buddhist monk and Marquis Kao-shen-tai was elected king in his stead.

With the abdication of Prince Chen-ming the Ta-i-ming Dynasty ended after lasting 158 years with 14 generations of rulers of Nan Chao.

### *1094 A.D. T'a-cheng Dynasty.*

Prince Kao-shen-tai was a native of Tali-fu. As he grew up he showed great intelligence and obtained an official position under Prince Si-lien. As related he rose to high rank and favour

both with that and succeeding princes, also being much loved and respected by the people.

In 1097 he fell sick and died. Just before he died he called his son Kao-tai-ming to him and said: "Because of the great weakness of the Twan family I was elected by the people to rule Nan Chao. Now, after my death do not take the throne but choose a member of the Twan family to succeed me. Do not forget and choose carefully." Kao-tai-ming took an oath to do as his father asked him. Shortly after this Prince Kao-shen-tai died and Kao-tai-ming selected Chen-shwen to succeed him. He was brother to Chen-ming.

*1097 A.D. The Later or Second Tali Dynasty.*

After Prince Chen-shwen came to the throne he made Kao-tai-ming his Grand Secretary of State and Chief Counsellor. He also made Kao-tai-ming's brother Kao-tai-uien his Premier. He abolished the system of *corvée* which had been in force from the earlier times. He built the city of T'su-hsieng-fu.

In 1104 he sent Kao-tai-uien to the Emperor Tseng-ming with despatches and eighty gold spear heads as a present and mentioned a number of Nan Chao families that he recommended should receive Imperial honours. Burma and two other states sent tribute to Prince Chen-shwen which included white elephants and a large variety of spices.

In 1104 a comet was seen in the west and much sickness followed.

In 1109 he became a Buddhist monk and abdicated in favour of his son Ho-u after a reign of 12 years.

*1109 A.D. Prince Ho-u.*

In the 7th moon of 1109 all the countries adjacent to the Kingdom of Nan Chao sent tribute to Prince Ho-u comprising gold, silver, precious stones, elephants, a rhinoceros, together with thousands of horses and head of cattle.

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In 1111 a serious earthquake destroyed 16 temples. The *Man-tsi* rebelled but were subdued by Kao-tai-ming. In 1116 the King of Burma sent tribute of gold and silver flowers, elephants and a rhinoceros. In 1117 the Emperor Chen-he sent Councillors Cheng and Wang to Yunnan-fu with despatches and friendly messages bestowing an Imperial title on Kao-tai-ming; but he died soon after receiving it and foul play was suspected. In this same year Prince Ho-u sent his son Tsi-tseng with tribute to the Emperor Chen-he who in return bestowed many honourable titles on him.

In the 1st moon of 1119 a comet appeared in the sky. In the 3rd moon of that year the people of Ming-uen-fu in Szu-chuan rebelled and drove back the troops sent to quell them. Then they attacked and captured Yunnan-fu and killed Kao-ming-tsieng who was governor there. During the 5th moon of 1126 there was a transit of Venus across the moon. In the same month a great fire occurred in Yunnan-fu destroying 3,900 houses. A dense fog set in on the 11th day of the 3rd moon of 1147 and continued for 24 days and during this time the sun was never seen once. In Prince Ho-u's old age his son was anxious to rule, various troubles broke out in different parts of the Kingdom; so being tired of reigning he abdicated in favour of his son Chien-shin and became a Buddhist monk after a very useful reign of 39 years.

### *1148 A.D. Prince Chien-shin.*

He appears to have had a very peaceful reign. After ruling for 25 years he became a Buddhist monk and abdicated in favour of his son Ci-shein and sought a pleasant retirement in a monastery.

### *1173 A.D. Prince Ci-shein.*

His reign commenced with much trouble owing to officiousness on the part of his ministers and quarrels between them. In 1195 he repaired the walls of the Hsia and Shan Kwans. He died in the year 1201 having ruled 28 years and was succeeded by his son Ci-hsiang.

*1201 A.D. Prince Ci-hsiang.*

He set out with an army to subdue the *Man-tsi* but owing to the flooded state of the country was compelled to return. In 1237 he raised Kao-long to the position of Hereditary Prince of Yunnan and gave Kao-kwang the rank of general. During this reign many brilliant men rose to prominence and the administration of Nan Chao was very good. The harvests were good, the people prosperous and peace ruled throughout the kingdom. Towards the end of his life however he wished for retirement and a peaceful end so became a Buddhist monk and abdicated in the year 1239 in favour of his son Hsian-hsin.

*1239 A.D. Prince Hsian-hsin.*

About this time the Mongol Emperor Hsien-hseng determined to subdue the Kingdom of Nan Chao and bring it completely under his rule. He therefore sent an army to take Tali-fu. In 1245 the Mongol army was nearing Tali under the command of Hsien-hseng's brother Hu-pi-li. Prince Hsian-hsin sent General Kao-he to oppose him near the River of Golden Sand but he was killed in the battle that ensued. The succeeding Emperor Swen-yeh sent an officer to sacrifice to General Kao-he's spirit—a mark of signal honour. Prince Hsian-hsin died in 1252 having reigned 15 years and was succeeded by his son Hsin-ci.

The independence of the Kingdom of Nan Chao was now drawing to a close as the Mongols approached Tali. Kublai Khan's victories in China overthrew the Sung Dynasty and then he started to consolidate China as his empire and after that extended his authority in all directions. The Kingdom of Nan Chao could not withstand his brilliant generals and enormous armies so with the next prince, Prince Hsin-ci, the Kingdom of the Southern Princes at last fell. It was then established under Imperial rule and had no more independent hereditary rulers. It was however not formally annexed to the Chinese Empire and taxed for the Imperial Treasury till the 15th century.

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1252 A.D. *Prince Hsin-ci.*

The Mongol Emperor Hsien-tseng sent his brother Hu-pi-li in command of an army assisted by Generals Wu and Ho to attack Nan Chao. They had a most difficult march of 2,000 *li* much of it lying across the mountainous country of Eastern Tibet, across many rivers and marshes. At last after many months the army arrived at the frontiers of Nan Chao but could advance no further owing to the impassable condition of the roads and rivers from continuous rain.

Prince Hu-pi-li then sent three officers to Prince Hsin-ci demanding his submission. Prince Hsin-ci refused and killed the officers who bore the message. He then sent troops to oppose the Mongols but they were defeated and the Mongols took the Shan-kwan. Prince Hsin-ci had hoped that the *Man-tsi* troops would join him at Tali to strengthen his opposition, but they did not arrive; in despair he fled to Yunnan-fu. General Kao-fai-chang with his small force defended the city with great bravery, but he was defeated and killed beneath the Great Tower. With his dying breath he said: "Alas, the House of T'wan has come to an end, though members of that House still live. Thus ends the Kingdom of Nan Chao." As he died black clouds gathered and heavy peals of thunder shook the sky. Prince Hu-pi-li heard of this and said: "Behold a loyal and devoted minister has died."

General Kao-fai-chang's widow and two sons were brought before Prince Hu-pi-li in fear and trembling, beseeching him to spare their lives. The Prince was moved with pity and said to the officers who stood around him: "Behold the widow and sons of a most faithful and brave soldier. Take good care of them and when the boys are old enough give them a position in the Government."

The slaughter during the fighting was tremendous, the Nan Chao troops defending themselves with the greatest determination and courage; but superior numbers won the day. Both Chinese and Tai were buried together in a huge grave at the back of the Great Pagoda. It was called forever after "The Myriad Tomb"

and a tablet was erected there commemorating the event. That tablet remains to this day. Every year to this day hundreds of people prostrate themselves before this grave and tablet praying to be cured of sickness. Prince Hu-pi-li then took three cities and the 37 clans of *Man-tsi* submitted to him.

In 1253 Prince Hu-pi-li sent Generals Hu and Ho to capture Yunman-fu. They did so and at the same time captured Prince Hsin-ci, the last King of Nan Chao. He only ruled for two years and with him the Later Tali Dynasty ended.

There were in all eight kings who ruled for 157 years and the two Tali Dynasties combined had 22 kings ruling for a total of 315 years.

After Prince Hsin-ci's capture the Emperor Hsien-hseng forgave him and gave him a hereditary office in the province but with no power to rule. He placed Tali-fu under Generals Hu and Ho. In 1260 Hsin-ci and his brother started a journey to visit the Mongol Emperor Cheng-teng but Hsin-ci died on the journey having held his hereditary office for 7 years. From this date onwards successive Mongol Emperors of China always appointed members of the 'Twan family as Hereditary Governors.

At this point ends the history of the *Tai* as a free nation in Southern China. From now onwards for a period of 687 years their history is associated with Siam and the Thai are still free.

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*Extracts from this paper were delivered at the Siam Society, August 1951, by Luang Suriyabongs Bisuddhi Baedya.*

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE AHOM PEOPLE

By

Eric T.D. Lambert

### *History*

There are many dim and legendary accounts of the origins of the *Ahom* people. Modern accounts have pieced together a connected history of their origins but even these are confused and difficult to follow. Dr. R.M. Nath of the Indian Service of Engineers, a keen archaeologist, has, however, recently published a well connected story in his "Background of Assamese Culture" though it may be thought perhaps that he has ventured a little too far into the realm of fancy in his references to the Egyptians.<sup>1</sup>

"Several Mongolian tribes living in the hills on the western border of China—headed by the *Chao* tribe—invaded China about 1122 B.C. and ousted the powerful Tsang dynasty of that great empire. The *Chaos* who had intercourse with Egypt and other countries in Central Asia in connection with trade imbibed a lot of the Egyptian culture, and now mixing the Tsang culture with their own, they evolved a new culture known in history as the *Chao*.

"The *Chao* ruled for several centuries in China and the several tribes who came with them as their allies from their original western hilly land ruled over different states in China under the *Chao* Emperor.

"One of these tribes which ruled over a state in the Yangtse Valley was of an independent temperament. They called themselves the *Tuis* (sic) or the Independent, and were a constant source of trouble to the Chinese Emperor in the 3rd Century A.D. They were driven down to the Hunan area to the south ; but here also quite averse to the current thoughts of Confucianism or the new wave of Buddhism they stuck to the orthodox cult of worshipping the symbol of power-giving supreme energy in the form of a piece of cut stone and carried on frequent revolutionary campaigns against the Chinese Emperor. In about 568 A.D. the Chinese Emperor weakened this turbulent tribe by a divide-and-rule policy :— Of the two brothers

who were the leaders, Khunlai, the younger, accepted the vassalage of the Chinese emperor, while the proud Khunglung—the elder—migrated with his followers to Namkhan and then to Meung-ri-Meun-rang (commonly known as Mungri-Mungrang)—a place about 100 miles southeast of modern Lashio.\*

“From here, these people migrated to various places in the south and established a number of small kingdoms under different leaders in the hilly country to the north and northwest of Burma including the whole of the Hukong Valley. The Burmese called them the Shans or the Hill-climbers or the Highlanders, and the Chinese called them the *Nan-Chaos* or the Southern *Chaos*.

“In this area, though these people were comparatively safe from the Chinese onslaughts, they constantly fought amongst themselves. A section of them went down to the southeast and, defeating the *Mon-Khmers* and other ruling races of that area, established a powerful Kingdom which was known as the land of the Tais or according to the Burmese—the land of the Shans or the *Shams*. Here they came in contact with the Buddhist and the Hindu cultures that were propagated there by early Indian colonisers, and mixing freely with them politically, socially, and racially evolved a new culture of a high order. The Kingdom gradually came to be known as Siam or the Thai-land.

“The conservative group, remaining in the original hilly area, still persisted in the worship of *Chumdeo* (life and strength giving God) and Ai-phra-Loung (Mother-goddess-lustre). *Chumdeo* appears to have been an abbreviated form of *chao* (chuh) *ma-Deva* (Heaven great God). The influence of Lord Buddha reached them only in a distorted form—*Fvat*, *Fia*, till he became *Fa* or *Pha* and was honoured by the use of the term as an epithet after the King's name. The traditional connection with the *Chaos* was retained in the first epithet of the names of the Kings, and the winged Lion *Taoti* of the Chinese Tsang culture was used as the royal insignia.

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\*This Kingdom was known to the early historians of Manipur, an Indo Burma border state, as Pong.



## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE AHOM PEOPLE

The influence of the Chinese *Chao* culture—in writing family history and recounting the deeds of the forefathers of the family on every solemn occasion like marriage etc.—became a custom with them. The influence of the Egyptian culture which influenced the *Chaos* as well—in burying the dead with a host of living attendants and various necessities of life in a house built with timber and then covering it up with earthen mound in the form of a pyramid—was retained scrupulously as a sign of glory and aristocracy. Daily life was regulated by heavenly bodies counted upon according to Chinese astronomy; sixty years making a century, and each century having a separate name.

“Here, in one of the petty Kingdoms of the frequently quarrelling hierarchy Meung-Mit, a lucky prince of the family of Khunglung,\* had an unlucky quarrel with his step-brother about his share of the kingdom in the Hukong Valley, and in a state of despair and disgust left the paternal country to try his luck in fresh fields and pastures new.”

It is probable that the capital of this small kingdom was the town now called Mogaung.<sup>2</sup> This kingdom lasted until it was finally wrested from the king by the Burmese in 1799 as consequence of his intercepting an *Ahom* princess on her way from the *Ahom* Kingdom to the King of Burma or, as it was called in those days, Ava.

In 1836 the Myowun Burmese governor of this town was found by Captain Hannay, an early British visitor, supplicating the spirits of three brothers buried there who were severally the founders of the three Thai states of Khamti, Ahom and Mogaung, namely, Chao Phya Hoseng, Chao Suwei Kapha (Chao Ka Pha) and Chao Sam Loung Hue Mung.<sup>3</sup> The *Mogaung* people remain the Shans of Burma, the *Khamti* people are to be found in the extreme north of Burma and in Northeast Assam, and the *Ahom* people are, of course, the subject of this paper.

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\*Chao Ka Pha

"Accompanied by a band of seven brave friends and 9,000 followers," writes Nath,<sup>1</sup> "he marched westwards with the *hengdan* (divine sword) in one hand, and the symbol of *Chumdeo*—the spoil of a nightly theft from the palace of Meung Khong—in another; and after a desperate march over many hills and dales—with atrocious and brutal encounters with many strange tribes that dwelt sparsely in these God-forsaken and inaccessible areas—he emerged after 13 years into the plains of the Brahmaputra Valley in 1228 A.D. in a place near about present Namrup."\*

According to one of the *Ahom Buranji* (histories) there were twelve commanders, 300 fighting men, two elephants, two conductors of elephants and 30 horses and horsemen.

Chao Ka Pha ("Heaven-come God") left his home in 1215 A.D. and proceeding northwestwards crossed the Chindwin on rafts probably in the regions of Taro. From Taro his route is difficult to follow but the places he passed through are all known and perhaps careful research from the maps will eventually prove the route. He seems then to have moved into the hills well to the west and to have gone northwards fighting his way against the *Naga* probably along the Sangpan range till he reached the Nawngyang lake. Here he met fierce opposition and even his own historians declare he perpetrated frightful atrocities on the local inhabitants. Perhaps then, as until quite recently, the *Naga* were headhunters and human sacrificers and unfortunate things may have happened to many of his band. The *Naga* now living in this area still talk of the invasion as if it had happened within the time of their own grandfathers.

Perhaps it was Chao Ka Pha himself who paused for a moment on the summit of the Patkoi range in 1228 like Moses on Pisgah gazing at the Promised Land and exclaimed *Mueng Dun Sun Kham* ("The Land of the Golden Gardens"). That at any rate is what the *Ahom* people called the country they were eventually to conquer and rule for many centuries.

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\*Other chronicles give it as nine nobles and 8,000 followers.<sup>4</sup>

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE AHOM PEOPLE

It was certainly one of the most glorious sights in the world that met their eyes. A broad valley abounding in rice fields; in the distance the wide ribbons of the mighty rivers that go to make up the Brahmaputra and towering above everything to the north of the valley the snow-capped Himalayas tipped perhaps with the rosy tints of the early morning sun. Here indeed, after thirteen years of wandering in the wilderness, was the land of plenty.

Chao Ka Pha and his followers were a vigorous if ruthless people. They called themselves *Tai* (celestial or glorious), and the early Assamese translating this literally called them the *Asama*, meaning unequalled or peerless. *Asama* appears to have been softened into *Aham* and eventually to *Ahom* (pronounced *a-home*). It is very fair though to record another equally tenable theory that the word *Ahom* has developed from the Burmese name for the Thai *Sham*. Perhaps Siam, Shan, *Ahom*, Assam are all the same word.

After descending the slopes of the Patkoi, Chao Ka Pha and his host travelled westwards and, easily defeating the *Moran*, the first of the *Bodo* tribes they met, they made their first settlement in India at Namrup on the banks of the river Dikhu. By 1253 they had made friends with the next tribe, the *Bahahi*, and established their first capital at Charaideo, on the borders of the Naga Hills some 40 miles to the southwest. This town was to remain the capital of the Kingdom for the next 300 years or more and though the capital was moved later further to the southwest, Charaideo remained to the end the burial place of the Kings. At the time of founding the city two horses were sacrificed and prayers said under a mulberry tree. On the banks of the Dikhu the settlers had time to develop and increase in population before coming into collision with more powerful neighbours further down the valley to the west.

Chao Ka Pha, the first *Ahom* King, died in 1268. He was, according to the historian Gait,<sup>5</sup> an enterprising and brave prince and his name is sullied only by the brutal means he adopted to

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\*In *Tai Noi* history, 10 years before the foundation of the Sukhodaya Kingdom.

overawe the *Naga* hillmen on his way across the Patkoi Mountains. After his death the kings succeeded each other with regularity, governing wisely according to Thai practice through their ministers, the *chao thao lung* and the *chao phrang mung*.

During the reign of King Chao Tu Pha (1364-1376), the *Ahom* had many serious clashes with their neighbours the *Chutiya*. The *Ahom* King demanded the submission of the *Chutiya* King and required in addition that he should deliver over to him the golden couch, the golden standard and the golden cat. He also demanded that the *Chutiya* King should resign his wife to his embraces. The King of the *Chutiya* refused to accept these conditions and wars continued throughout the whole of this reign until the treacherous assassination of Chao Tu Pha. In 1376 the *Chutiya* King visited him near his capital and pretending to be reconciled invited him to a regatta on the river. Here he enticed him on to his own barge without attendants and treacherously murdered him. After Chao Tu Pha's death, there being no prince whom the great nobles thought worthy of the throne, the first interregnum in *Ahom* history occurred. Eventually the third son of his predecessor was elected to the throne and his first act was to lead the Army and punish the *Chutiya* for the murder of his uncle. The *Chutiya* were not overthrown until 1523 in the reign of Chao Hung Mung though they had been worsted in most struggles prior to this date.

In 1536 the same King attacked and sacked the capital of the *Kachari* King and forced his people to retreat to the hills. The *Ahom* as a result of this battle had carried the borders of their kingdom 150 miles down the Assam valley to the southwest.

In 1539 Chao Hung Mung died at the hand of a *Kachari* assassin employed by his own son Chao Kleng Mung. The reasons for the assassination were a quarrel between father and son over the possession of the three Queens of the *Chutiya* King and a royal row over a cock fight. At the time of his death the King had also made the *Koch* King far to the west his vassal and had repulsed no less than three Muslim invasions, destroying completely the last Moghul army sent against him. It is thought the fact that he was the first king to use firearms may have had something to do with his military successes.

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE AHOM PEOPLE

Chao Hung Mung was a bold, enterprising and resourceful ruler and under him not only did his country greatly expand in size but under his efficient administration the social condition of the people made great strides. He took a census of the people, divided them into clans, imported artisans from nearby countries and changed the calendar from the Jovian to the Hindu system. During his reign too the Hindu *Vaishnava* reformation, promulgated by the great Hindu preacher Sankardeb made considerable progress. It was his son Chao Kleng Mung who in the first year of his reign moved the royal capital from Charaideo to Garhgaon.

Wars against the *Koch* and the remnants of the *Kachari* continued for the next hundred years up to the reign of Chao Seng Pha who died in 1641. During this Monarch's reign many of the more backward tracts were developed, the *Ahom* made inroads into the hills on both sides of the valley and transfers of population were made to the more sparsely populated frontier areas to help in protecting the boundaries.

Under this King, too, many roads and embankments were built and new towns constructed. These earth embankments were models of ingenuity and exist to this day close to and in fact right into the Naga Hills to the south of the Kingdom. *Kataki* (interpreters) were appointed on the fringes of the country and none of the "wild men" were allowed to cross the frontiers unaccompanied by them. *Kataki* also acted as spies to watch the movements of the frontier tribes. In some palaces permanent forts were constructed, stone and brick bridges were built and numerous markets established.

Chao Seng Pha, like his predecessors, was a great elephant hunter and achieved the distinction of being the first *Ahom* King to own a thousand elephants. He maintained a close watch on all aspects of the administration and was also the first *Ahom* King to strike octagonal coins which were supposed to be the shape of the country he ruled.

Twenty or more years after his death, 1662, closer control of the *Koch* kingdom to the west and raids into Muslim territory by the *Ahom* led to another attempt by the Moghuls to overcome them but Mir Jumla, one of Aurangzeb's greatest generals, met the same fate Napoleon was later to meet on his march to Moscow. The *Ahom* let him come right through the country, two or three hundred miles to their capital at Garhgaon which he entered on March 17, 1662. Rain and fever then did for the Muslims what snow and frost did to the French. When the rains broke the country was as usual transformed into a vast swamp and military operations became impossible. The invaders were shut up in their camp and those who ventured out were eliminated. Communications and supplies were cut off. Mir Jumla found himself unable to maintain his outposts and had to withdraw them one by one; to the terrors of a persistent and unseen enemy were added several epidemics, especially dysentery. Finally he was compelled by the clamour of his troops to patch up a treaty with the King and retreat to Dacca in Bengal. Dying himself on March 30, 1663 in sight of home, he lost a large number of his men on the way back and most of his artillery. Though his doctors gave various diagnoses for the illness which led to his death the men commonly believed that the sickness was the result of witchcraft practised by the *Ahom* King.

A contemporary Muslim account of the Garhgaon Treaty is worth quoting in full<sup>6</sup>:-

- "1. The Rajahs of Asam and Batam (never identified) should each send one of their daughters to the imperial harem.
- "2. Each should pay 20,000 taels of gold and 120,000 *tola* of silver.
- "3. Fifteen elephants to be sent to the Emperor; fifteen to the *Nawab* (Mir Jumla) and five to Dilir Khan (one of Mir Jumla's lieutenants).
- "4. Within the next twelve months 300,000 *tola* of silver and 90 elephants to be sent as tribute to Bengal in three quarterly instalments.

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- “5. 20 elephants to be furnished annually.
- “6. The sons of Budh Gohain, Karkas-ha, Bar Gohain Prabatar, the four principal *Phukan* of the Rajah to remain as hostages with the *Nawab* till the fulfilment of the conditions in Article 4.
- “7. The following districts to be ceded to His Majesty the Emperor :-
- A: In the north.
- Sirkar Durang bounded by Gavhati on one side and by the Ali Burari (Bhoreli) which passes Fort Chamdhura on the other side ;
- B: In the south.
- The district of Nakirani (near the Garo Hills);
- The Naga Hills ;
- Beltali ;
- Dumurian (extends to the Kallang river);
- “8. All inhabitants of Kamrup kept as prisoners by the Rajah in the hills and in Namrup to be restored ; so also the family of the *Badli Phukan*.”

In territory the Moghuls got little out of the treaty. Durang had been theirs at one time and the area claimed on the south bank of the river was mostly hill and jungle and inhabited by wild tribes who would yield to no one.

From other Moghul records<sup>6</sup> it is clear that the cession of Durang was purely nominal, there is no record of payments of money by Muslim historians but it is true that some of the elephants arrived and that a daughter of the king was subsequently married to an Imperial Prince, Mohamed A'zam, with a dowry of 180,000 rupees.

There is a remarkable similarity between the *Ahom* and the Muslim accounts of this treaty.

Chao Tam La, the *Ahom* King, himself died in November of the same year and his successor, Chao Phung Mung, refused to tolerate such a dishonourable treaty as had been negotiated by his

predecessor.<sup>7</sup> Soon after his accession he called a council of elders to concert measures to destroy the remaining Muslim power in the valley. He established firearm and munition factories and built a large number of warships. He prepared a muster roll of all able-bodied men in the kingdom and instilled into their minds by propaganda the sentiments of valour and the importance of the liberation of the country. It is recorded that he personally instructed recruits how to fire the arrow, hurl the spear and use the shield.

In this connection a quotation from Shakespeare, who was living in England when the *Ahom* people were making their greatest progress, seems most apt:

“For forth he goes and visits all his host  
“Bids them good morrow with a modest smile  
“And calls them brothers, friends and countrymen.  
“Upon his royal face there is no note  
“How dread an enemy had enrounded him.”

It was Chao Phung Mung, well to be compared with Shakespeare's Harry (Henry V), who drove the Moghuls across the river Manas and established a viceroyalty at Gauhati 250 miles from the point where his great predecessor had entered India. He died in 1670 only to be followed by seven kings all of whom were assassinated by their ministers in the short space of 11 years. But at the end of this period there arose in 1681 Chao Phatpha, one of the greatest of the *Ahom* monarchs, who inflicted such a crushing defeat on the Moghuls that the roar of their guns was no longer heard in the valley. In a history written by an Englishman in 1814 the *Ahom* successes were ascribed to the fact that the people “were fierce of their independence and invigorated by a nourishing dish and strong drink”. He added that the prince “had not sunk under the enervating and unceasing ceremonies of the Hindu doctrines”. Not only did this king defeat the Muslims once and for all but he succeeded in subduing all the frontier tribes. He had a peculiar penchant for land survey which he had picked up from the Moghuls and though he strove hard the survey of the country had not quite been completed by the time of his death in 1696 A.D.



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The accession of his son Chao Khrung Pha alias Rudra Singh was the beginning of the end. Though he and his immediate successors constructed some of the finest roads and artificial lakes in the country they began to fall under the sway of the Hindu priests and with this monarch's death can be traced the end of the generation of strong kings and "we hear no more of brave deeds, heroic exploits and territorial acquisitions". The comfort and devitalising influence of the land they had conquered had begun to sap the energy of this once virile race. They had to accept a subordinate position in the Hindu caste system and give up the nourishing fare to which they had been used.

If the kings up to this date were like the Tudors, Chao Khrung Pha was the first of the Stewarts. During the reign of Chao Rampha (1751-1769) we find the nobles for the first time refusing to go on active service and declining the command of military expeditions. The decadence was the same as that of the Stewarts. The Hindu priests worked upon the vanity of the *Ahom* kings in the same way as the Christian clergy cringing for royal favour played upon the Stewarts. Earlier kings, though they patronised and even accepted Hinduism, always placed the safety of the state above all other considerations. It was the later kings who fell completely under its sway, finishing with the country full of religious preceptors and their followers who claimed exemption from the universal liability to fight and to assist in other public works. The earlier kings had spotted the possibility of the Hindu caste system destroying the *Ahom* tribal system and did all they could to avoid the priests breaking it up—even going to the extent of giving the most degrading work including the construction of a highway to those whom they considered owing to their higher caste might upset the system. For some time the people continued to perform the old tribal rituals alongside the new worship of the Hindu pantheon recalling the analogous situation in Rome at the time of the adoption of Christianity by Constantine the Great.

It was to some extent persecution of those who accepted the Hindu doctrine that kindled the fire of the *Moamaria*<sup>1</sup> rebellion during the reign of Sunyeopha (1769-1780) that was the beginning of the end of Thai *Ahom* rule in Assam. Though Sunyeopha succeeded in quelling the rebellion the insurrection broke out afresh in the reign of his son Chao Hitapangha (1780-1795). The capital, Rangpur, was actually seized by the rebels in 1786 and the King was forced to flee nearly two hundred miles to Gauhati. The disorders dragged on for several months, whilst the Prime Minister Purananda *burha gohain* valiantly strove to put them down.\*

It was this rebellion and the anarchic state of the country that led to the first arrival of the British who by this time had replaced the Muslim (Moghul) power on Assam's borders. The country had become filled with the turbulent ruffianism of the great bazaars in Bengal, with disbanded soldiery and fighting fanatics pillaging the villages, laying waste the fields and reducing the country to ruin. The King appealed for help to a nearby British merchant whose private army was defeated and eventually to Lord Cornwallis the Governor General of India, who agreed that he must take steps to stop marauders from British territory interfering in the internal affairs of Assam. The gangs of pillagers from Bengal, were accordingly ordered to return to that state but refused to do so.

In 1792 Captain Welsh with a small force accordingly went to the *Ahom* King's relief. He retook Gauhati which at this time was under the control of a gang of low caste Hindus from Bengal, and advancing up the valley by March 1794 had retaken the capital Rangpur for the King and put down the *Moamaria* rebellion. But unhappily for the *Ahom* and despite vigorous protests by the *Ahom* King the new Governor General Sir John Shore ordered Captain Welsh to leave the country. (It would be very interesting in the

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\*The *Moamaria* are believed to have been an aboriginal tribe that had settled in the upper part of the country before the coming of the *Ahom* people. The whole tribe embraced Hinduism but rejected the popular worship of Siva. They professed themselves votaries of the Vishna-Vishnu religion.

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light of later events to speculate on what would have happened if this order had not been issued.) A few months later the King died to be succeeded by Chao Klingpha (1795-1810). The *Moamaria* rebelled again and the *Ahom* suffered continuous attacks from the hill tribes. A period of great disorder prevailed but a temporary respite was obtained by the fine generalship of Haripod *deka phukan*, who received a large reward of land from the King for his great services. This land still remains in the hands of his descendants.

Chao Klingpha was succeeded on his death by his brother Chao Din Pha who was in his teens at the time. This boy was fond of keeping low company, Satram, the son of a poultry-keeper, being the principal object of his attachment. He raised him to the high rank of *charingia phukan* and thereby greatly incensed the nobles. The favourite realising how much he depended on the King soon set about stirring up trouble among the ministers of state. There was a serious quarrel between the two great officers, the *bar phukan* and the *burha gohain*. The King, fretting against the influence of the *burha gohain*, sent his supporter the *bar phukan* to call on the British for aid. This was refused, the British not wishing to get involved in the internal politics of the state, and an appeal was then made to the Burmese who entered the country with a large force. This force supported the King but eventually retired. The *burha gohain* seized his chance and deposing Chao Din Pha set up Purander Singh, a royal prince, as King. Chao Din Pha again called on the Burmese for assistance. They sent an army to aid him and Purander Singh was forced to flee to British territory in 1816 as a political refugee. In 1819 he applied for British assistance but this was refused.

In due course Chao Din Pha found the price of Burmese support more than he could afford to pay and he soon became anxious to get rid of them. He applied once more for British assistance which was as usual refused and after a quarrel with his Burmese allies he, too, was forced to flee for asylum to British territory. The Burmese then set up Jogeswar Singh, a distant

relative, in his place and sent a message to the British demanding the handing over of the King on pain of invasion of Bengal to seize him. The British countered this by sending troops to the frontier and a warning to the Burmese to keep out. The Burmese, however, persisted in advancing on Cachar, a state which had sometime previously placed itself under British protection. The British thereupon declared war and within a year had driven the Burmese from Assam and Manipur but not before they had committed the most frightful atrocities on the people. According to the historian Mackenzie<sup>8</sup>: "Nothing," at this time, "could have been more wretched than the state of Assam when the valley was first occupied by our troops. 30,000 Assamese had been carried off as slaves by the Burmese. Many thousands had lost their lives and large tracts of country had been laid desolate by the wars, famines and pestilences, which for nearly half a century had afflicted the province. The remnant of the people had almost given up cultivation, supporting themselves chiefly on roots and plants. The nobility and priestly families had retired to Goalpara (Bengal) or other refuges in British territory, often after losing all their property, and with them had gone crowds of dependents glad to escape from the miseries of their native land."

The invaders committed the most horrible acts of torture and barbarity. Many of these were described a few years later to a traveller, Butler, with great minuteness which left in his mind no doubt of their authenticity. In one case as many as 50 men were decapitated in one day, in another, men, women and children were herded into a large bamboo and thatch building and burned to death. On February 24, 1826, when the operations of the Burma campaign had been completed elsewhere, the Burmese signed the treaty of Yandaboo. Article 2 of this treaty reads: "His Majesty the King of Ava renounces all claims upon and will abstain from all future interference with the principality of Assam and its dependencies."

Unable to find a useful prince of the royal house to whom the country could be handed over, the British<sup>8</sup> "with great

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reluctance" found themselves for security reasons in the position of having to control the country for the next seven years. In 1833, however, despite two ineffectual Burmese supported risings, the first one under Gadhadhar Singh, a nephew of Chandra Kanta and relative of Jogeswar Singh, the second under the ex-*bar gohain* and *burha phulkan*, a large part of the country was placed under the rule of Purander Singh who was believed to be morally and otherwise the most eligible representative of the royal stock. A treaty was executed by which he was protected and guaranteed against invasion on condition of his paying an annual sum of 50,000 rupees. In October 1838, however, he declared himself "unable to carry on the administration any longer" and the territories were resumed by the Government of India, the King being pensioned off with a political pension of 1,000 rupees a month.

The final decay of *Ahom* political power came with the release by the British of the many slaves employed by the rich nobles without compensation and the abolition of the *paik* system whereby the great families had been able to cultivate their large estates. In addition the more educated Muslims and Hindu upper classes were employed in the work of the Government. The *Ahom* all fell to the level of humble cultivators and the *Kolita* a people of Aryan descent who had lived amongst the *Ahom* throughout, made the most important advance. The *Ahom* people number now only a few hundred thousand and are confined mostly to the Upper Assam Valley.

### *Government.*

The Government of the *Ahom* was a limited or oligarchic monarchy, but as the state grew in size the monarchy tended to become more absolute, the amount of limitation depending partly on the personal influence and character of the king and partly on the power of the great nobles.

The monarchy passed from father to son with great regularity in the early days of *Ahom* rule but in later times the succession might devolve on a brother or even a more distant relative. In the

choice of a successor much depended on the wishes of the previous king, much on the personal influence of any rival candidates and of course a great deal more on the action of the two, later three, great nobles who at least in theory and often in practice would constitutionally nominate the new king. They were in fact regarded as the depository of sovereign powers and in the interregnums of 1376-80 and 1389-97 such powers were actually exercised by them. In other words, as in ancient Rome, when a king died his sovereignty passed to the elders.

In appointing a successor, however, there were two essential qualifications. Firstly, no one could in any circumstances ascend the throne who was not of royal blood; and secondly any noticeable scar or blemish, even the scar of a carbuncle, operated as a bar to the succession. It was frequent practice amongst the *Ahom* kings on coming to power to endeavour to secure themselves against intrigues and eventual deposition by their relatives by mutilating all possible rivals. It is recorded that this sometimes took the form of making a small nick in the ear, though in other cases the mutilation might go much further. No king could be legally enthroned unless first the great officers of state had concurred in his proclamation. Originally, as already mentioned, the principal councillors of state numbered two, the *chao thaolung* (Great-Old-God) and the *chao phrangmung* (God of the Wide Country). They were called in Assamese *bar gohain* and *burha gohain*. In the reign of Chao Hung Mung a third was added, the *chao senglung* (Great-Holy-God.) They had provinces assigned to them in which they exercised sovereignty but so far as the general administration of the country and its foreign relations were concerned their functions were purely advisory. The King in theory was bound to consult them on all matters of importance and could not issue general orders, embark on war or negotiate with other states without doing so.

In practice these appointments descended from father to son but the King had the right of selecting any member of the prescribed clan that he chose and could also at any time dismiss a *gohain* though this was usually done with the concurrence of the other two.

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The *gohain* were highly privileged and were given a number of families to serve them but they were required to provide their portion of militia to serve in war or the required number of workmen for any great public work.

As the country grew in extent it was found necessary to delegate certain of the King's duties to others and various new appointments were made, in particular in the reign of Chao Seng Pha the *bar barua phukelung* and the *bar phukan lung*. These were not hereditary appointments but the posts were filled only by members of twelve specified families. In order to prevent the *gohain* from growing too powerful, members of their clans were not allowed to hold any of these new posts.

The *bar barua* received the revenues and administered justice in the northeast whilst the *bar phukan* was the viceroy of the western portion of the Kingdom. Each was given command of twelve to fourteen thousand men. 7% of these men were, however, allotted to the officer for his private use together with any fines which he might levy on them for certain offences. He also received fees paid by persons appointed to minor government offices, though in all cases their nomination had to be confirmed by the monarch. The *bar phukan*, owing to the distance he lived from the capital, became at a later date one of the most powerful officers in the Kingdom.

Below these five great officers were governors who administered many of the districts along the frontiers. Some of these governors were from the royal line, some from the clans of the three *gohain*, others from senior families and yet more were vassal princes, declared governors of their own territories after conquest or submission.

Another thirty two officers existed called *phukan* and *barua*. There were six military *phukan* on the council of each *bar barua* and *bar phukan*. In addition to commanding units of the Army they appear also to have had certain civil functions in specified areas. Subordinate to them were the *rajkhowa* who commanded 3,000 men each.

The *paik* could claim the dismissal of *bora*, *saikia* and even their own *hazakika* whereby they were saved from oppression which might otherwise have been their lot. Justice was meted out all the way along the chain of command though there was an appeal to the sovereign dealt with by an officer named the *nyay sodha phukan*.

As remuneration for his service to the state amounting to a third of the year each *paik* received  $2\frac{2}{3}$  acres (2 *pura*) of rice land called *ga mati* (body land) free of charge. When each *paik* was on service the cultivation would be carried out by the remaining three members of his *got*. This land was the property of the state and was theoretically neither hereditary nor transferable. There was however nothing to prevent a *paik* from owning other cultivatable land or a homestead garden. Should he do so he paid Re 1/- annually as a house, poll or hearth tax for his homestead and Re 1/- per annum for every other *pura* of land held.

Slaves, however, were not taxed but when the first British administrator made an enquiry into the title by which slaves were held he discovered that many *paik* were content to be called slaves and concealed amongst them in order to avoid taxation. After his enquiry more than 12,000 persons were reinstated as *paik* !

It was this supply of disciplined labour that enabled the kings to construct the great public works which even to this day of machines are a wonder of the age. The system was not particularly popular but it worked and above all taxed the people on the one commodity they had to spare—labour.

Artisans were taxed at a higher annual rate than the cultivators, sums varying from Re 1/- to Re 5/- per person. Since writing the above I have been re-reading Wood's "History of Siam" and it is worth quoting exactly what he says on pages 37 to 39 where it will be found that except for the *corvee* labour little change seems to have taken place in the Thai system of administration between leaving China and arriving in India.

"It is clear from the annals of the Tang dynasty that the *T'ai* Kingdom of Nanchao was a highly organised state. There were



ministers of state, censors or judges, treasurers, ministers of commerce, etc., each department being called *shwang*. Minor officials managed the granaries, royal stables, taxes etc. The military organisation was similar to that of modern Siam. It was arranged by tens, centurions, chiliarchs, deka-chiliarchs, and so on. Military service then, as now, was compulsory for all able-bodied men, lots being drawn for each levy. Each soldier was supplied with a leather coat and a pair of trousers; they wore helmets and carried shields of rhinoceros hide.

"Land was apportioned to each family according to rank, a system which survives in Siam to the present day, in the nominal *sakdi na* grade conferred upon officials.

"There were six metropolitan departments and six provincial Viceroys in Nanchao.

"The people were acquainted with the art of weaving cotton and rearing silkworms. West of Yang-chang a type of mulberry-tree grew, the wood of which was used for making bowls; and gold was found in many parts, both in the sands of the rivers and in the mountains.

"When the *Tai* King appeared in public eight white-scaled standards of greyish purple were carried before him, also two feather fans, a hair plume, an axe, and a parasol of kingfisher's feathers. The standards of the queen-mother were scalloped with brown instead of white.

"The chief dignitaries wore a tiger skin.

"Each man paid a tax of two measures of rice a year, and there was no *corvée* labour. Some may say that in the last respect the ancient *Tai* set a good example to their Siamese descendants.

"Had the Nanchao *Tai* a written character, or did they use Chinese ideographs? We do not know. In the opinion of the author, it is very improbable that any system of writing at all resembling those now in use (all of which are of Indian origin) was adopted before the eleventh century. It is likely that the Nanchao *Tai* used Chinese characters.

"As to the religion of the ancient *Tai*, we likewise have no definite information. We know that Buddhism, the religion of almost all the modern *Tai*, was introduced into China, from the south, during the first century of the Christian era. It is, therefore, probable that the Buddhist religion was quite familiar to the *Tai* inhabitants of Nanchao for several centuries before many of them migrated south. The Buddhism of China is, however, the later form of the religion, known as the *Mahayana* or Great Vehicle, whereas all the *Tai* since the dawn of their modern history in the twelfth century have been followers of the *Hinayana* or Small Vehicle, which claims, with some justice, to be the true religion taught by the Buddha himself.

"It is fairly certain, therefore, that the *Tai*, as a race, became Buddhists after they had emigrated to the south. There may have been some Buddhists among the old Nanchao *Tai*, but as a nation they were almost certainly animists, worshipping the beneficent spirits of the hills, forests, and waters, and propitiating numerous demons with sacrifices and offerings. This simple faith survives in Siam to the present day, and in the north is still more truly the religion of the country people than is Buddhism."

No close administration of the surrounding hill tribes of Assam was ever achieved for any length of time but many of them paid annual tribute in kind. When the tribute was not forthcoming or the tribesmen raided the plains, the pass by which they entered was blockaded and only reopened on submission or the payment of a fine. As already stated relations with the hill tribes were conducted through *kataki*.

#### *The Administration of Justice.*

The chief judicial authorities were the three *gohain* and the *bar barua* and *bar phukan*. An appeal lay to them from their subordinates and a second appeal could be made to the king.

Tributary chiefs and the *phukan* administered justice in their own districts but an appeal from their orders lay to the *bar*

*phukan* and the king. It is suggested that one of the main defects of the *Ahom* system was the countering of the judicial system with the executive.

The administration of justice up to the time of the *Moamaria* rebellion was speedy, efficient and impartial. Courts were open but no pleaders were employed. The parties themselves would appear or be represented by a relative.

Assessors were consulted and in civil cases written evidence was recorded. The judge decided according to the custom of the country and his common sense (a system retained by the British in the hill districts) but a capital sentence if imposed had to be confirmed by the King though it is recorded that the *bar barua* exercised this power. He could not, however, order an execution in which the blood of the victim might be spilled. Nevertheless other punishments inflicted were barbarous in the extreme.

After the *Moamaria* rebellion, justice like everything else deteriorated and it was described as characterised by great harshness and on the lines of "tooth for a tooth".

*Public Works Administration.*

As already described this depended upon the extremely well organised *paik* system. One has only to travel around the country to see the effects of the system and to realise how keen the rulers must have been on public works—and what hard taskmasters they must have been. Roads, embankments, bridges, temples, royal palaces and enormous tanks abound. Many of them like those in Ayuthia have fallen into decay but some of them are still found to be of considerable use whilst others are a pitiful reminder of a once great nation now fallen into decay. To approach by road the old *Ahom* capital of Rangpur is to approach the old Siamese capital of Ayuthia. The similarity is weird and most striking. The same embanked road, the same overgrown tanks, the same red tiled dilapidated walls and temples. In Rangpur however many of the tanks have again been cleared and some attempt made to rehabilitate the temples and palaces by the Government under the National Monuments act.

The country being low and subject to flood, irrigation embankments and canals had to be dug and to facilitate trade and military action great roads had to be constructed a considerable height above the flood waters.

Bridges were constructed of stone and brick and the following description of the bridge over the river Namphuk is illustrative of the great size of some of the undertakings: \* 16,000 stones, 303,000 bricks, *matimah* (phaseolus radiatus) 64 *dhols*, *Sum* (hemp) 64 *dhols*, 36 *dangs* fish, 1,360 *dhols* stone lime, 1,218 *dhols* shell lime, 1,229 pitchers lime water, 556 pots molasses, 68 seers resin, and an unspecified quantity of oil. The cement used in the construction of these old bridges cannot be equalled today and it is probable that an analysis might prove that the cement in Ayuthia is much the same.

Roads probably run into some thousands of miles. The Dhodar Ali, 115 miles in length, is completely bridged and is said to have been built by "the slothful people." Another long road was ordered to be built by "incompetent priests".

The tanks, though, are probably the greatest of the *Ahom* works. The two largest, the *Jai* and *Gauri Sagur*, have areas under water of 155 and 150 acres respectively whilst their total areas including banks and ditches are 318 and 293 acres. These are in the neighbourhood of the old capital of Rangpur. To walk round one of these tanks is a perambulation of just over two miles.

#### *Armed Strength.*

The *Ahom* seem to have had well organised armies and their navy was well able to rival the Moghuls. Some warships carried as many as 80 men. In one attack made on the Moghuls on the Brahmaputra in the 1660's the *Ahom* used between seven and eight hundred ships losing in the engagement three to four hundred manned with cannon on either side. The ships were described by a Moghul historian as extremely well constructed of *chambal* wood but slower than the war vessels of Bengal.

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\* Tradition has it that large blocks of stone collected on either side of the Brahmaputra river were collected by a *bar phuikan* with the intention of bridging it.

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE AHOM PEOPLE

The Army in the 17th Century at the height of its strength possessed considerable well cast artillery and matchlocks in addition to spears, bows and arrows. The Muslims claimed during the 1662 expedition to have captured 675 cannon and 6,570 matchlocks in addition to one iron cannon that fired a ball weighing more than 200 lbs. Gunpowder was locally made but some was imported from India. Uniforms were woven from cotton and by custom the whole process from ginning to weaving had to be carried out between midnight and sunrise.

Considerable use was made of elephants and for defences it was usual to raise wide earthen embankments, often topped with wooden palisade type forts. In front of these embankments the *Ahom* would dig ditches which they filled with *panji*, pointed bamboo stakes, which were extremely difficult to cross.

Their fighting men have always been described as brave and in fact the Moghuls referred to a few of them as capable of holding up thousands of the enemy. They dashed into battle screaming like jackals and were particularly given to night attacks (Tuesday of the week was considered the most propitious day for such attacks).

Their commissariat appears also to have worked well and granaries seem always to have been well-stocked and well placed for assistance to the troops.

One or two notable tricks adopted by the resourceful *Ahom* in war are worth recording. In one case they dug out a long portion of an embanked road during the monsoon, so long that it could not be bridged. On another they chose strategic places along the banks of rivers and carved off the sides so steeply that neither horses nor elephants could clamber up the bank on the opposite side.

There are no records of the use of cavalry though their allies the *Manipuri* came to their assistance on occasion with this arm.

Generalship appears on the whole to have been good and fighting well co-ordinated. Well it might be, for failure was some-

times punished not only with the death of the general but on one occasion with the slaughter of his whole family.

Various estimates have been provided of armies put into the field from time to time and it is difficult to gauge the greatest force the *Ahom* ever raised but it seems possible that during the Mir Jumla invasion they may have had an army 50,000 strong and a navy consisting of several thousands, though the standing army of *caodang* or palace troops was never more than 6,000.

### *Acknowledgements*

This account of the Thai *Ahom* people was written purely for a talk to the members of the Siam Society and was not in its original form intended for publication; it has not therefore been fully annotated. It contains nothing which has not already been published. Sources are keyed to the text by numbers and are listed below.

(1) "The Background of Assamese Culture", R.M. Nath, B.E.; published A.K. Nath, Shillong, Assam; printed by S.C. Das at the Ananda Printing and Publishing House.

(2) "Selection of Papers regarding the Hill Tracts between Assam and Burmah and on the Upper Brahmaputra", Bengal Secretarial Press, 1973; Mr. G.T. Bayfield's narrative.

(3) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1837.

(4) "An Account of Assam", Benudhar Sharma; 1927; publishing Dr. Wade's "Account of Assam" of 1800.

(5) "A History of Assam", E.A. Gait, I.C.S.; published by the Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1906.

(6) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I, 1872; H. Blochmann, M.A., "Koch Bihar, Koch Hajo and Assam

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in the 16th and 17th centuries according to *Albarnamah*, the *Padishahnamah* and the *Fathiyah I 'Ibriyah*".

(7) "Assam Under the Ahoms", U.N. Gohain, B.A., Jorhat, Assam, 1942.

(8) "Northeast Frontier of Bengal", Alexander MacKenzie; Calcutta Home Department Press 1884.

In addition to the sources listed above, use was made of various journals of the Assam Research Society. Despite the fact that much research has been done since the writing of Gait's "History of Assam", it remains the standard work and contains one of the best accounts of the *Ahom* people.

*Bangkok 1951*

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# The Foundation of Ayuthia.

BY H. R. H. PRINCE DAMRONG.

There is an old city to the south-west of Suphanburi (Suvarnapuri) near the range of mountains which form the boundary between Miang Suphan (Suvarnapuri) and Kanchanaburi. The river which ran near the city was called the Nam Chorakhe Suphan; but at the present day it is dried up in places and is shallow and is consequently not navigable.

The city is called by the people Miang Thao U Thong (the city of King U Thong) and there is a tradition that Thao U Thong reigned over this city until an epidemic broke out and the people died in great numbers. He then abandoned the city and turning to the East looked out for another place to establish the capital; but the epidemic did not abate. He then crossed the Suphan (Tachin) river to escape the ravages of the epidemic, and even at the present time near the Suphan river there is a place called "Tha Thao U Thong" *i. e.* the crossing of King U Thong.

On a journey which led me up to Miang Thao U Thong in 1904 I found it to be an old walled city, with several ponds dug near it, and it gave me the same impression as the old city of Sukhothai. In the city itself were numerous remains of brick moulds which clearly showed, that they were the remains of old temples, and there were also some temples which showed the form of a Chedi. I also found several old statues of the Buddha, and images of Hindu Gods the workmanship of which was similar to those found in Phra Prathom Chedi. From enquiries made of the people, I also was able to obtain some old coins which were dug up some years before and which showed the emblem of a conch-shell in the same way as the coins found in Phra Thon. This would lead to the conclusion, that the town would be contemporary with the old city of Phra Prathom Chedi, and much earlier than the present town of Suphanburi. But some of the chedis appear to be of more



**Thong** or **Chao** ( of ) **U Thong**, in the same way as a person is called the **Phra Chao** ( of ) **Krung Sri Ayuthia**, or **Chao** ( of ) **Chiengmai** without reference to his personal name; he is simply called the **Chief of Mïang U Thong**.

Attention may be further called to the fact, that **U Thong** is situated in the middle of two towns, that to the west being called **Kanchanupuri** and that to the east **Suvarnapuri**; the translation of these names is **Gold City**. In old records we only have the name of **Suvarabhūmi**, ( the origin of gold ), and we may therefore presume that **Suphanburi** and **Kanchanaburi** were established in later times because **Suvarabhūmi** had to be abandoned.

The question therefore arises, are we to presume that **Thao U Thong** was also the founder of **Ayuthia**. We have to take into consideration, that when **Phra Chao U Thong** abandoned **Suvarabhūmi**, on account of an epidemic, he went straight to the east towards **Ayuthia**, which is only at a distance of three days, and he would not encounter any of the difficulties which he would have done, if he had come with his people from **Mïang Thephanakhon** ( **Devanagara** ).

We know from history that **Ayuthia** was an old city, which existed before the advent of **Phra Chao U Thong**; he, however, established the capital there, and assumed the name of **Somdetch Phra Ramadhipati**. From this fact we may assume that before he came to **Ayuthia**, he must have had another title, and been known as **Phra Chao U Thong** because he was then **King of U Thong**.

It is recorded in history, that in the reign of **Phra Chao U Thong** the States from **Nakon Sawan** to the north were dependent States. If **Phra Chao U Thong** came from **Thephanakhon**, which is near to **Mïang Kampheng Phet** and **Mïang Phichit** and north of **Nakon Sawan**, which are only at a distance of one or two days each, how can we assume that all these places were dependent States? How can we assume that followed by a large number people and passing through these States, he should not have found any inconvenience? Suppose, however, that **Thao U Thong** came from **Mïang Suphan**, this would be more in accordance with actuality than to assume an immigration from the North. It may be assumed that when **Chao U Thong** established his capital at **Ayuthia**, he could not remove all the people from his old residence, and **Khun Hluang Phagnua**, the

elder brother of the Queen Consort, remained in his old residence, where, in having to look after his own interest, he was appointed Phra Paramaraja to administer the old city.

Miang Suvarnapuri may have been established at the same time as Ayuthia. Phra Ramesuen the King's son was made Governor of Lopburi, in the north, which is near to the dependent States, to look after them. All this seems to speak for the statement that Phra Chao U Thong came from Suvarabhūmi and not from Devanagara.

I have only one more word to add. If the theory which I have put forward with regard to the establishment of Ayuthia as a capital is correct, it does not in any way militate against the well established fact that the Thai race came from the North.

The ancestors of Phra Chao U Thong had certainly once established their capital at the city of Tritung or Pèp, a little below Kampheng Phet on the western bank of the river, and perhaps they established another city known as Devanagara, the position of which is said to be a little lower down on the eastern bank. But instead of immigrating direct to Ayuthia, there are reasons, as I have explained, to assume that they have come down to Suphan or even more south and remained there for generations before the capital was established at Ayuthia.



## Some Notes upon the Development of the Commerce of Siam.

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When we begin to consider the early trade of Siam we have to remember that away back beyond the time when actual evidence starts there lies a period of which we shall never know the history, and of which we can only venture to imagine something of the traffics and discoveries which were made.

We may imagine, not entirely without justification, that in that prehistoric time some degree of civilisation existed in this area: and we may add to that a further conjecture that foreign trade was carried on of a volume proportioned to the degree of civilisation, for it is one of the curious things about life that the more thoroughly a people engages itself in money-making — an engagement which, generally speaking, arouses almost the worst instincts of human nature — the more that people is progressing in the scale of civilisation.

We have very early evidence that there were trading relationships between neighbouring lands; and we know that such intercourse must have brought ships along the coasts of Siam. The evidence of the earliest trade between India and China is, of course uncertain. Kennedy, quoted by Sir William Hunter in his *History of British India*, "finds no positive evidence of an Indian sea-borne trade with Western Asia before 700 B. C." Hunter says: "The dawn of history discloses the Syrian trade-routes in the hands of Semitic races. The Chaldean or Babylonian merchants who brought up the Indian cargoes on the Persian Gulf, the half-nomad tribes who led the caravan from oasis to oasis around the margin of the central desert to Tyre or to the Nile, the Phœnician mariners who distributed the precious freights to the Mediterranean cities, were all of the Semitic type of mankind. The civilisation of ancient Egypt created the first great demand for the embalming spices, dyes, and fine products of the East. But as early as the fall of Troy (1184? B.C.), if we may still connect a date with the Æolic saga, Phœnician seamen had conveyed them northwards to Asia Minor and the Ægean Sea."

This early Indian trade is a fascinating subject, but it concerns us only for this reason — that there are grounds for supposing that concurrently with the Indian trade with the West there was Chinese trade with India. The Chinese junk of to-day is very little removed in appearance from the type of vessel which sailed from the ports of Phœnicia. The Phœnicians probably pushed their trade as far as Malaya. Hunter says that the ancient Tao coinage or "Knife cash" of China has been ascribed to the sea traders from the Indian Ocean who, before 670 B. C., marked their bronze knives with distinctive symbols so as to convert them into a returnable currency.

Hunter also refers to an account, written about 535-547 A.D., of the trade with Malabar and the Eastern Archipelago, and the meeting of the sea traffic of Egypt and China in Ceylon.

Now it is claimed for Siam that her dominion extended as far as Johore. We may therefore assume that on the outward voyage in the N. E. monsoon the junks from China touched land with which the name of Siam has been connected. Furthermore, if the junks did not take the course outside Sumatra, and I think it very likely that they did not, they would, in beating up the Straits of Malacca, keep as far away as possible from the lee shore of Sumatra; and in all probability would put into a creek on the coast of the peninsula to water and take in fresh provisions before setting out on the long run to Ceylon. Such a creek might well have been on the coast of Kedah or on the island of Penang, whence they would have a favourable point to set their course so as to clear both Acheen Head and the Nicobars. I think it is highly probable that if there were any marketable commodities to be found along that coast, and anyone there prepared to do business, the Chinese, even of those days, would have been the last people to neglect the opportunity. Dye wood (sappan) and incense (gum-benzoin), may well have been loaded there. We have evidence of such trade later on on that coast.

But apart from this possible early connection with an all-sea trade route there were in existence land routes along which traffic between China and India may well have passed at a very early period. The shortest of these routes was that between Chumporn

Records of trade intercourse with China continue until in 1722 it is found that the Emperor commanded the importation of 300,000 piculs of rice from Siam. Further cargoes were sent, and in the reign of the Emperor Yung Ching ninety-six Chinese sailors obtained permission not to return to China from Siam. From this I am disposed to think that the early Siamese trading ships were navigated by Chinese. We have records in the seventeenth century to support this view, and the Dutch treaty of 1664 contained a clause by which the King undertook not to employ Chinese sailors in his ships sailing to Japan.

In 1735 Siam asked that the restrictions upon the export of copper from China might be relaxed. The request was not granted. By this time the rice trade between China and Siam was well established, and in 1751 Chinese bringing up more than 2000 piculs of rice were rewarded with a mandarin button. If this rule had

remained in force some of our local Chinese friends would be more gloriously arrayed than the attendants at picture palaces.

In 1744 Chinese were permitted to build ships in Siam and to sail them to China for registration.

While this traffic was growing into a settled condition of commercial intercourse, trade was being opened up in other directions.

The first actual mention of a trading vessel in the China trade takes us back to 1403. There is a gap of nearly two centuries before a connection with Japan can be established. According to Satow, "The earliest extant record.....belongs to the year 1606, "when a letter was addressed by the Shôgun Iyeyasu to the King "of Siam containing a request that some muskets, and incense known "to us as 'eagle-wood,' might be furnished to him. But there is no "doubt that commercial intercourse had taken place even before this, "for the original passports granted to Japanese junks trading to "Siam, or rather to the Malay states of Ligor and Patani, then, as "now, forming a part of the Siamese Kingdom, are still in existence, "dated as far back as 1592."

In 1599 and again in 1602 a junk belonging to Patani visited Japan, having an envoy on board. There is proof that in 1604 a Japanese merchant was resident in Siam, and that junks passed back and fore on his business, and between 1609 and 1615 there are records of ships' passports having been issued to various Europeans for trade with Siam. One, dated 1614, was issued to the famous Will Adams, the first Englishman to settle in Japan.

Satow gives a long account of the early seventeenth century trouble with the Japanese merchants and settlers in Ayuthia. In this it is mentioned that in 1633 there was a Japanese fleet of over 300 vessels at Ayuthia.

It is clear that the Japanese connection with Siam's commerce must have been very powerful; and concurrently with this traffic of Japanese ships there was considerable trade between the two countries which was in the hands of the English and Dutch, who were well established in Japan by this time, and competing with the Japanese for the Siam trade.



In 1636 Japan was closed to foreign intercourse, but an exception was made in favour of the Chinese, and the Dutch and English were permitted to trade with Nakasaki under very restricted conditions. The trade with Siam collapsed, as far as its former participants were concerned. It passed into the hands of the Chinese.

The principal commodities exchanged appear to have been, from Siam:—ivory, sappan wood, gunpowder, camphor, European cloth, gum, deer skins, hides, and ray skins; and from Japan:—horses, cotton cloth, lacquer work, tea, porcelain, and copper.

The pioneer seamen of China and Japan were almost as great figures, in their way, as Marco Polo — who returned from China by way of Malacca in 1295 — as Columbus, da Gama, d'Albuquerque, Davis, and Drake. I say "in their way" because I think it unlikely that either the Chinese or the Japanese were prompted by a desire for adventure or discovery to embark on the stormy and unknown seas. Their voyages were probably merely the natural result of venturing time by time a little further along the coasts of the China Sea, in search of trade. They do not seem to me to have shown anything like the courage of, for instance, Bartholomeu Dias, who rounded the Cape of Good Hope — the Cape of Torments, as he called it — in 1486 with two ships of 50 tons, and put back only because his men rebelled.

But these Eastern navigators played their part in the development of Siam's trade, and while they were doing so certain daring Western adventurers were opening up the connection between Europe and this part of the world.

The success of the efforts to reach the East by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope may be attributed to a great extent to the Papal Bulls of 1493, 1506, and 1514, by which the Pope very kindly portioned out the unknown world between the Spaniards and the Portuguese. As the Spaniards claimed the western half of the Atlantic the Portuguese were forced to the East. In 1497 Vasco da Gama left the Tagus, a week or two after John Cabot, sailing from Bristol, on his way as he thought to India, had discovered North America; and in 1498 da Gama had sailed across the Southern Indian Ocean and reached Calicut. Others followed, and soon the Portuguese had established themselves — the first European powers

in the East. In 1508, with the object of cutting off the Mohammedan trade between Malacca and the Egyptian ports, de Sequeira was sent to Malacca; and in 1511 d'Albuquerque captured and fortified the town.

From these days onwards until the nineteenth century the history of the Far Eastern trade is often a history of war also; and in the beginning it is a history of religious aggression as well. One wonders how far the militant missionary spirit of the West has been responsible for the existing hatreds. One wonders how far this country would have remained tolerant had the Western religious activities of the seventeenth century been successful. As human love is often but thinly divided from hatred, so it seems that the Christian religion, based on a gospel of love, has been singularly effective in arousing the worst passions of mankind.

The Portuguese were received peacefully in India. They found religious toleration; they were not long in establishing a reputation for licentiousness and cruelty which has rarely been equalled. The expedition of 1500 under Cabral carried, besides a powerful armament, eight Franciscan friars, eight chaplains, and a chaplain major. The first act of this militant mission was to seize an Arab ship outside Calicut and another vessel in the harbour. This very successfully paved the way to a commercial and religious activity carried on at the point of the sword. Tavernier gives an interesting picture of the active side of religious life as it had developed in Goa in the seventeenth century.

But to return to the subject of this paper; Anderson records that Tristan d'Acunha visited Tenasserim in 1516, and that in 1511 Fernandez was sent from Malacca by sea to Ayuthia, returning overland to Tenasserim. He also mentions "Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo, the second envoy sent by d'Albuquerque to Ayuthia, had "as his companion Manuel Frageso, who went to report to d'Albuquerque on all matters, 'merchandise, dresses, and customs of the "land, and of the latitude of the harbours.' They proceeded by sea "in the first instance to Taranque, and thence by land with horses "and draught-oxen to the city of Sião, and on their return they reported that the peninsula was very narrow on that side where the "Chinese make their navigation, and that from thence it was only "ten days' journey to the coast of Tenasserim, Trang, and Tavoy."

It is established that at this time there was trade between Tenasserim, Ayuthia, and the Malacca Straits in benzoin and lac. The records of traffic, through Tenasserim, between Siam and the West, extending as far as Bengal and Cape Guardafui, are fairly full; and it is certain that the Portuguese were not long in making use of their establishment at Malacca to take their share in the trade.

In 1516 Coelho was sent as an envoy to Ayuthia, and in the next year the Portuguese opened up trade with Patani. Anderson mentions that in 1538 there were three hundred Portuguese in the port.

Between 1563 and 1581 Caesar Frederick, of Venice, made a voyage to the East. He records that "there goeth another "ship for the said Captaine of Malacca to Sion, to lade verzino" (Brazil wood). He also records the capture of the city of Sion by the king of Pegu in the year 1567. In the same account he mentions passing by sea near to the city of "Tenasari". "This city of "right belongeth to the kingdom of Sion, which is situate on a great "rivers side, which cometh out of the kingdom of Sion; and where "this river runneth into the sea there is a village called Mergim, in "whose harbour every ycere there lade some ships with Verzina, "Nypa, and Benjamin, a few cloves, nutmegs and maces which come "from the coast of Sion, but the greatest merchandise there is Ver- "zin and Nypa, which is an excellent wine, which is made from the "floure of a tree called Nyper. Whose liquour they distill, and so "make an excellent drinke cleare as christall, good to the mouth, "and better to the stomake,"\* He goes on to speak of the medicinal virtues of this excellent wine in glowing terms and with a wealth of detail which, although interesting, make the passage somewhat unsuitable for inclusion in this paper.

Following upon the Portuguese came the Dutch, who, as Mr. Blankwaardt surmises in his excellent article in *l'Eveil Economique*, (November 1921), had probably visited Siam either on their own account or in the service of the Portuguese towards the end of the sixteenth century. Mr. Blankwaardt records that in 1601 van Neck made a contract with the queen of Patani concerning commerce

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\*Hakluyt's Voyages.

in pepper and the establishment of a factory. In 1603 van der Leek and van Waarwyck had visited Ayuthia. As a result of the latter visit the King of Siam decided to send an embassy to Holland; and in 1607 a party of four "mandarins" and minor officials sailed for Holland — the first Siamese to visit Europe.

In 1610 the Dutch had a station in Ayuthia, which was enlarged in 1612, and opened in 1613 by Brouwer. Dutch establishments were also set up at Junk Ceylon, Ligor, and Singora, principally for the trade in tin — the Ayuthia establishment dealing mainly in hides and sappan wood for the Japanese trade.

The English had become acquainted with Siam before the close of the sixteenth century. In 1518 Master Will Barret records that "Belzuinum Mandakale comes from Siam,"\* I take this to be Benzoin.

About 1597 John Davis, whose name is for all time connected with the Arctic, visited the eastern coast of the peninsula. (In 1605 he was killed in Patani Bay in a fight with Japanese pirates). Anderson mentions that "By the end of the sixteenth century Siam (Ayuthia) and Tenasserim had become known in England to merchants generally, as we find them mentioned in Foulke Grevil's report on the memorial submitted to Queen Elizabeth, in 1600, "stating the reasons why English merchants might trade with the "East Indies, especially to such rich kingdoms as were not subject "to the king of Spain and Portugal."

At this period Patani was a flourishing port. It was "resorted to by ships from Surat, Goa, and the Coromandel Coast, and by "junks from China and Japan."\* The English established themselves there in 1612. In the same year they had set foot and housed themselves in Ayuthia. Upon arrival at the bar "the native Shah-bandar of the port went down probably to receive King James' "letter, but mainly with an eye to a personal present."\* The Shah-bandar was the Customs or port officer; but that is a long time ago! From Ayuthia two Englishmen went to Chiengmai, to trade and to report upon the trading prospects.

\* Anderson.

The establishment of both English and Dutch in Siam naturally led to their intrusion upon the Japanese trade. Anderson mentions that in 1617 the *Sea Adventure*, which was piloted by Will Adams, left Ayuthia for Japan with a cargo of 9,000 skins. It was a disastrous voyage: thirty-four of the crew died at sea, and upon the arrival of the ship in Japanese waters there were only twelve men on board able to work.

Visiting Patani now, one is hardly able to realise that, away back in the early seventeenth century, there were between four and five hundred Europeans living there. There is a record of ten Englishmen holding a sort of board meeting in the year 1615 — ten *Nori Hong* in fact — and the inference one draws is that the English colony must have been of considerable size.

It seems that the Europeans must have overestimated the volume of trade which was possible in Siam (the same fault has not been unknown in later days, I believe); and before long affairs began to go badly with the factories. It must be remembered that the western energy was not being applied to increasing production. The traders were solely engaged in buying and selling. Moreover, their activities in this respect were limited. As in other eastern courts the King of Siam was the chief merchant of the country; and commodities bought and sold passed through his hands; and, worse still from the point of view of trade, through the hands of his ministers and officials.

The temptation to intrigue, one nation against another, must therefore have been irresistible. There is no reason to believe that the early European traders bore the high character of their present-day successors; and there is no doubt that Ayuthia must have been a hot-bed of intrigue; with English, Dutch, Portuguese, Japanese, Indian, and Chinese all scheming against each other, and the Siamese officials sitting demurely looking on, and making a very reasonable profit out of the trouble. A dictaphone record of successive conversations between the "Barcalon" and the merchants would be worth listening to.

But it is to these rough mariner-merchants, these quarrelsome and often drunken pioneers, that Siam owes, primarily, the commerce which enables her to-day to stand firmly on her own feet among the

nations of the world. Throughout all the troublous years of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the kingdoms of India, Sumatra, and Java were falling before the advancing tide of western aggression there is hardly a suspicion that the conquest of Siam was ever seriously contemplated. Doubtless to the practical minds of the English and Dutch, bent on trade and trade only, the possible profit was not sufficiently tempting. And, on the whole, considering what trading conditions were in the East, the treatment the traders received was reasonably good.

The quarrels among the merchants reached their height when, in 1618, the English Council at Bantam decided to make war upon the Dutch for the satisfaction of their losses. The English captured on the 5th December the *Black Lion* "a richly laden ship, "with rice, pepper and other commodities from Patani.....In "April 1619, John Jourdain, president of the English factories, returned from the coast of Coromandel, with the two ships the *Hound* "and the *Sampson* to 'new establish, both with men and means, the "almost decayed factories' of Jambi, Patani, Siam, and Succadana.... ".....They arrived at Patani in June 1619, to find the factory "disorganised by 'the base and idle carriage' of Edward Gillman... ".....Adam Denton went to the factory with the goods they had "brought, and resided there while the ship lay at anchor in the "harbour. John Jourdain's movements had, however, been carefully "observed by the Dutch, who no sooner knew he was at Patani, with "only two ships, than they sent Henrick Johnson in pursuit of him "with three well-appointed men-of-war, manned by 800 men. On "the 17th July, 1619, this strong naval division sailed into the harbour of Patani, and, taking up its position, at once attacked the "two English vessels. The surprise, however, had not been so "sudden but that the English president might have set sail and "engaged them at sea, where his chances of success might have been "greater; but he disdained to appear to have run before his enemy, "as his doing so might have damaged, in the opinion of the natives, "the reputation his nation had established for courage. He determined, therefore, to fight them in full view of the town, and accordingly never moved from his anchor while they bore down on "him — conduct which one of Jourdain's contemporaries said deser-

“ved ‘favourable censure’, a verdict which every admirer of courage  
“will accept. After a ‘five glasses fight’, ‘their noble president’  
“says Marinaduke Steventon, who fought on board the *Hound*, ‘was  
“slain in parley’ with the Dutch commander, ‘receiving his death  
“wound, with a musket, under the heart.’” \*

The survivors of this fight were taken prisoner by the Dutch. Their treatment was not all that it might have been, even in a brutal age. It is described fully by Anderson, who also says that the Queen of Patani undertook the protection of the English and their houses — at a price. Generally speaking; everything had a price, in those far-off days.

The trade appears to have shown no signs of improvement; for both the English and Dutch closed their factories in Ayuthia about the year 1623. But the Dutch were back again before 1629. I have obtained some figures of the rates of duty at this period, from *The History of the Second Reign*, by H.R.H. Prince Damrong. There were five methods of securing a revenue from the trade, viz., by

- (1) Fees on passes — permissions to enter for trading. (Ka berk long or ka pak rūa).
- (2) Import duties.
- (3) Export duties.
- (4) Profit from the sale of Government commodities.
- (5) Pre-emption of import cargoes.

It does not appear, nor is it likely, that the trade had diminished. No doubt it had grown to some extent; but the Chinese had secured a firm hold on the eastern traffic, a hold which was strengthened after 1636, when Japan was closed to foreigners; and the trade of Mergui and Tenasserim was probably carried largely first by Indian craft and later by Company’s ships from Masulipatan and Madras. The Company’s factory at Madras was established in 1639.

About 1660 trade seems to have improved, and the English factory in Ayuthia was re-settled in 1662. A letter to Surat describes the goods vendible in the Siam

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\*Anderson.

market. They are—cloths of various kinds, calicoes, chintzes, loong-bees, and long-cloths. A letter from the authorities at Fort St. George, quoted by Anderson, describes the trade in 1663:—"The  
 " Moors supply Siam with goods, which they send *via* Tennassarre,  
 " but they carry them 40, dayes by land, and pay severall customes,  
 " and are at about 50<sup>p</sup>to. and charges more than ye goods yt goe by  
 " shipping, soe yt if wee used yt Trade, wee shall quickly beate ym  
 " out. The Dutch, it is true lade many shippes from thence, but ye  
 " most of them carry provisions for Malacca and Batavia, the rest are  
 " imployed wth Tynn, Elephants Teeth, Lead, and Sappan Wood,  
 " there is alsoe brought unto the place by shipping all sorts of South-  
 " Sea conno, silk, Gold, and pes. of  $\frac{7}{8}$ , Sugr, Dopp. Tuttanague, Am-  
 " ber-Greece, Muske, Agula, Beniamen &c.....when Mr. Bland-  
 " well was there, there was 15 sayll of Dutch shippes, besides their  
 " Japan flecte."

At this time the Dutch were more less at war with Siam, although it does not appear that their factory was closed; but in 1664 they concluded a treaty by which the King undertook not to employ any Chinese in his ships going to Japan, and by which, also the Dutch secured a monopoly of the trade in hides, and the King contracted to supply them with 10,000 piculs of sappan wood annually. In this treaty the Dutch attempted to secure freedom for their trade, and from the directness of the language used it is plain that the matter was considered to be one of great importance.  
 "The Honourable Company shall be free to negotiate, deal, and  
 " correspond with all persons no matter what rank they occupy  
 " whenever the Honourable Company may choose to do so, without,  
 " as has happened before, being interfered with either directly  
 " or indirectly by anybody whosoever he may be." There is nothing of the language of secret diplomacy about that.

The treaty also furnishes the first reference to extra-territorial jurisdiction in Siam. The clause runs:—"Should (God forbid) any  
 " of the Company's residents commit a grave crime in Siam, neither  
 " the King nor the Siamese courts shall judge him, but he shall be  
 " delivered to the chief of the Honourable Company, in order to be  
 " punished according to Dutch law: and in case the said chief him-  
 " self commit a capital crime, His Majesty shall have power to place



"him under arrest until notice shall have been given of the same  
"to the Governor-General."

In 1662 the French made their first appearance in Siam, in the person of the Bishop of B erythe. He was followed, in 1664, by Francis Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis. The priests made every effort to interest the King in their faith, although they received what Anderson calls "a rude shock" when they found that religion, as well as commerce, is subject to competition.—Mohammedan emissaries putting in an appearance in 1668 to urge the claims of their faith.

The Bishop of Heliopolis made a visit to Rome, and returned in 1673 with letters and presents from the Pope and Louis XIV. In 1676 and 1677 more missionaries arrived; and in 1680 came the traders, following their pioneer footsteps.

One does not like to question the motives of these notably good and brave men. Doubtless they were merely pawns moved at the will of the master minds in France, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the development of Siam might have progressed much more quickly, and on different lines, had not some of these earnest but impractical men set foot in the country.

A Siamese embassy was sent to France, and in 1683 de Chammont arrived, to set the seal, as he thought, and as the sanguine de Choisy thought, upon the work of the missionaries. In their company was de Forbin, who remained to command the forces at Bangkok, and whose journal, like that of de Choisy, is interesting reading, if only on account of the simple egotism disclosed. It is quite clear that, like many another hopeful young man who has come to this country, de Forbin imagined that he was destined to sway the rod of empire in Siam; and it is equally clear that he imagined that he possessed the force of character to wrest that rod from the hands of Phaulkon. He was mistaken; he was a man of no character at all, but I am grateful to him for one thing—he has shown me where that old story of the elephant and the tailor—the tailor pricking the inquisitive trunk with his needle, and the annoyed animal passing on to return later with its trunk full of water wherewith to souse the tailor—where that dear old story of our childhood came from. The evidence is incontrovertible because de Forbin saw it happen!

De Choisy mentions the war with Golconda, and states that Siam had captured a vessel of Golconda, and that six Siamese vessels had been fitted out and armed, three commanded by Frenchmen, and three by Englishmen.

This embassy was the beginning of the downfall of Phaulkon. I have said that there is hardly a suspicion that the conquest of Siam was ever seriously contemplated. I made that statement in a qualified form because it is by no means certain what was in Phaulkon's mind, or in the minds of Louis XIV and of Colbert. The opinions of the English and Dutch traders are scarcely reliable. After his change of religion Phaulkon ceased to be a friend of either of the great companies; and the English, although at one time they suggested that King Charles should confer a title of honour upon him (the decoration bribe was not unknown then), were particularly bitter because of Phaulkon's former connection with their Company. Whatever were the motives which prompted the chief actors, there can be no doubt that the French mission of de Chaumont, followed by that of de la Loubère in 1687, opening up, apparently, the most glowing prospects, resulted in a disaster which involved not only the French but the whole trading community and the development of the country.

De la Loubère gives an indication of the commercial situation in his time. "The richest of the foreigners, and above all the Moors "have withdrawn elsewhere since the King has reserved to himself "nearly all the foreign trade. His royal father did the same and "perhaps it has been the policy of Siam to act thus from time to "time. Nevertheless it is certain that commerce has nearly always "been free and that it has often flourished in Siam. Fernand Mandez "Pinto says that in his time there came every year more than a "thousand foreign vessels; now there are only two or three Dutch "barques." He goes on to comment upon the heavy taxation of the people, on the *corvée*, and on the lack of circulation of the money collected as revenue, stating that much of it never returns to the people, but remains in the royal hands.

One result of this state of affairs was that the Indian merchants withdrew to Tenasserim and Mergui, where they had a free field for their trading operations, But Phaulkon resolved to have a

share in it for the King and for himself. He appointed, as Shahbandar of Mergui, one Samuel White, a Company's servant. In addition to being Customs and port officer White was commercial agent for the King. It would appear that it was not remarkable in those days that a European Customs official should be expected to know something of commercial affairs. But that is a long time ago.

Before this had happened commerce had been growing very difficult in Ayuthia. The English factory had a large sum of money owing to them, and had petitioned, without result, for assistance in collecting the money. A cargo of English woollen manufactures, worth £10,000, arrived in 1681; but its sale does not appear to have helped the Company: for they began to make plans for leaving.

The Company's officers were unreliable—one of them explained away the absence of 500 chests of Japan copper by saying that they had been destroyed by white ants—and the King's officers were obstructive. Merchants were given no consideration: indeed they were imprisoned and pilloried; and things were plainly in a state of grave disorder. It is obvious that the primitive ideas of the court upon commerce were unsuited to the conditions of the trade; and one can see in all this welter of confusion, so prejudicial both to the interests of the country and of the traders, how unavoidable was the development of the safeguards which treaties and laws provide.

Both sides insisted upon the preservation of the monopoly system. As we have seen, the Dutch had secured a monopoly of the hide trade. They held also the privilege of being the sole tin buyers in Ligor, a privilege confirmed to them in 1668, in the ratification of their treaty of 1664. In 1675 the English were given a monopoly in tin in Chaiya, Chumporn, Tattang, and Pompin. Anderson thinks that Tattang is a small island in Chaiya Bay, and Pompin, or Phunphin, is situated on another island in the Bay. He is, I think, wrong. Tattang is Thalang, or Puket; and Pompin is Pang Nga, on the mainland north-east of Puket. The concession was obviously intended to give the English the control of the tin at both ends of the overland routes.

White at Mergui seems to have given most of his attention to naval operations against Golconda. He was soon in trouble, and was recalled to Ayuthia, where he was treated very coldly by

Phaulkon. While he was there the Maccassar rebellion broke out, in which two English captains and four Frenchmen were killed. White returned to Mergui, and the Golconda war was prosecuted until the relations between the English Company and the Siamese became so strained that at last the Company determined to seize Mergui. A ship was sent thither. High-handed action was taken by the English, which aroused the anger of the Siamese: and on the 14th July 1687 the people of Mergui broke bounds, and a massacre of the English ensued — White having the good fortune to make his escape.

De la Loubère arrived in 1687 with a large suite of officers and priests, and 1400 French soldiers commanded by General des Farges. The following year Phaulkon was dead, the French were driven out, and a new King was on the throne. The Dutch alone seem to have come untroubled through those troublous times.

Both English and French seem to have made efforts to resume commercial relationships with Siam, but apparently without any direct results upon trade. Indeed the president at Madras proposed a private subscription war against Siam. That president's name is known all over the world to-day. He was Elihu Yale, after whom Yale University was named.\*

Trading conditions were not good. Piracy was only too common in the Indian seas; and it was at this time that the renowned Captain Kidd, sent out to suppress the evil-doers, found piracy so attractive an occupation that he became the worst pirate of them all.

A writer in 1678 gives a detailed account of the commerce of Siam at this time, an account which is to be found as an appendix to Anderson's *English Intercourse*. From this statement we find that the chief products of the country were:—Agilla or eaglewood, areca, sappan, elephants, saltpeter, lead, tin, ivory; "all wch. are engrossed by the King." His Majesty seems to have been content with about two-hundred *per cent.* profit upon his trading.

The "more vulgar commodities wherein all p'sons have liberty to trade" were iron, rice, "jagarah" (palm-sugar), timber, salt, raw hides, and "cheroon". Anderson fails to identify cheroon. It is possible that it may be Karaboon (camphor).†

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\* Anderson.

† Since this paper was read it has been suggested to me by Mr. Greg that "cheroon" may be the Arabic "Karun" (horn).

The imports were "Rawe and wrought silke, Quick Silver, Tutenague, Porcellaine, Wrought copper, and Iron Pans".

Much of this import trade was not for home consumption but for sale elsewhere. Copper, spelter, and porcelain were, for instance, bartered for calico from Surat and the Coromandel coast.

The shipping consisted of one or two yearly ships to Japan, and Canton, and sometimes to Amoy. A King's ship was sent every year to Manila. Other shipping, excepting two or three vessels owned by other merchants, was in the hands of the Chinese.

The Dutch found their chief profit, at the end of the century, in their tin and hide monopolies, particularly the latter.

The information available concerning Siam's commerce in the eighteenth century is scanty. Conditions were by no means favourable to trade, for during the greater part of the century the country was the battlefield of invading and insurrectionary forces. The possession of Mergui and Tenasserim was lost; and Ayuthia was destroyed. The city where once foreign traders gathered in their hundreds ceased for ever to be a commercial centre. The condition of the country may be imagined from the fact that it was necessary to import rice to feed the people.

That some form of commercial enterprise still remained we know from the Chinese records already quoted; but, generally speaking, the trade of the country must have lain dormant.

With the establishment of peaceful conditions, trade began to awake again; but the European portion of that trade was no longer controlled by the great companies of the past, nor was it — and this is much more important — hampered by their jealousies and intrigues. The trade which was slowly but surely being built up was a fair trade, subject to the ordinary conditions of business competition. The day of monopolist companies had passed. They had served their purpose in a period when private enterprise, far away from the big markets of the world, was an impossibility; and having fulfilled their mission, Time, in the pleasantly casual way he has with his servants, dropped them gently into the stream.

Royal trading continued until the reign of King Phra Nang Klao, who upon his accession announced his intention of not being a "King merchant". I have the particulars, taken from H.R.H.

Prince Damrong's *History of the Second Reign*, of an interesting voyage made by a ship, under Government instruction, in the year 1818. She appears to have sailed from Trang, carrying elephants and tin.

Value	Ticals		Ticals
of Cargo :—Elephants	8862	Cargo sold in India for	
Tin	8430	Elephants	7206
Labour	1958	Tin	10851
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	19250	Total	18057
	<hr/>		
		Less — Ka Tamniem	2022
		Wages	1232
			<hr/>
			3254
			<hr/>
		Net total	14803
		A loss of	4447
			<hr/>
			19250
			<hr/>

But the transaction did not stop there. The instructions were to bring back certain white cloth. The Indian merchant, however, was unable to furnish this cloth, and asked that the ship might return for it in the following year; but he supplied four kinds of white cloth of a total value of Ticals 4350.

Washing and Ironing this cloth cost Ticals 457 (the dhobie was doing well). The value of the cargo was, therefore, Ticals 4807. “Therefore,” says the letter from which I quote, “the Indian dealer still owes the ship Ticals 9956.” (I make the figure Ticals 9996, but the account is near enough to accuracy for our purpose.) And Phya Nakon is ordered to fit out the ship with elephants and tin the next year, to take this debt in cloth.

From a mere outsider's point of view, it seems that it would have been cheaper to bring the ship back light, and cut the loss of the 4447 ticals made on the outward voyage; for it will be observed that the shortage referred to in the letter is not on the capital ex-

penditure, but on the proceeds of the sale, by which, as I have shown, a loss of Ticals 4447 had already been incurred.

It was a poor commercial effort, but a fine example of the folly of government trading; a lesson which the world seems to be slow to learn.

“As it was in the beginning  
Is to-day official sinning  
And shall be for evermore.”

Crawfurd gives some interesting details of the trade of Bangkok in 1822, putting the whole of the Siam-China trade, carried in about 140 junks, at 561,500 piculs; and the trade with the Straits, Cochin-China, and the Gulf ports, carried in 200 junks, at 450,000 piculs. Outside the junk traffic, commercial intercourse seems to have been negligible, except for a certain amount of trade with Penang by the overland routes.

The land routes to Mergui and Pak Chan were closed to trade after the Burmese conquest, and it is only in the last few years that the last named route has been re-opened as a road. When I crossed it a few years back it was hardly even a track. Fraser crossed it in 1861 and found it rather trying. However he obtained some satisfaction from his exploit, for he records solemnly in his official report that it is “a route quite unknown and has never been traversed by Europeans.”\* Apart from the traffic of centuries, an official of his own government — Tremenheere — had crossed and reported upon it only eighteen years before.

Harris, of Burney's embassy, speaks of the still existing traffic between Chaiya and Pung Nga, and on the southern routes, Trang to Nakorn Sritamaraj and Kedah to Singora.

In Crawfurd's time the pepper produced in Siam was estimated at 60,000 piculs; sticklac 16,000 piculs; sappan wood at 30,000; ivory at 1,000; and fine cardamums at 500. Teak was used as formerly in ship-building, but very little was exported. One interesting piece of information given by Crawfurd is that “passengers form the most valuable importation from China to Siam. The rate of passage money between Bangkok and Amoy is eight Spanish dollars, and between Bangkok and Changlin six Spanish dollars —

\*“Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China.”

“ready money in both cases. The commander furnishes provisions. “A single junk has been known to bring 1200 passengers to Bangkok; and I am told that the annual immigrations into that place “may be moderately estimated at seven thousand.”

In 1824 came Hunter, the first British-born merchant to reside in Bangkok. Mr. Adey Moore says that in 1835 Hunter had four vessels annually making voyages for him.

In 1822 the Crawford mission, and in 1825 the Burney mission, came to Bangkok. The latter resulted in the abolition of the heavy duty charges on imports and exports, and substituted a uniform measurement duty — a bad arrangement, but, judging by its effects, a much better one than the system it superseded, undoubtedly because it put an end to the irregular and oppressive assessment of duties. One very important clause in Burney’s treaty stipulated that merchants “shall be allowed to buy and sell without the intervention of other persons.” In another clause it was stipulated that merchants “shall be protected and permitted to buy and sell with facility.” One hundred and fifty years had passed since the Dutch attempted to secure the same reasonable privilege, but still the country had not learned how essential is liberty to trade. It was a very important matter, for, although the King had ceased to be a “King merchant,” the right of pre-emption was still claimed and exercised by the Government officials, and trade was very seriously hampered. Crawford mentions that an American ship which came to Bangkok to complete its cargo by taking in a small quantity of sugar, was kept waiting for about six weeks before it was allowed to receive its cargo.

Ruschenberger, the chronicler of the Roberts American Mission of 1836, says that only two American vessels had visited Bangkok in eight years, although at one time there had been at least 2200 tons of American shipping in the trade.

This writer gives particulars of the commerce in his time, although it is not clear whether he is giving figures of production or of foreign commerce. I think much of it is inland traffic.

The principal figures are

Paddy	...	1,696,423	piculs
Teak	...	127,000	trees



Sappan wood	...	200,000	piculs
Coconut oil	...	600,000	"
Sugar	...	96,000	"
Palm sugar	...	150,000	jars
Salt	...	8,000	coyans
Pepper	...	38,000	piculs
Cardamums	...	4,550	"
Sticklac	...	8,000	"
Iron	...	20,000	"
Ivory	...	300	"
Gamboge	...	200	"
Deer horns	...	26,000	pairs
Buffalo hides	...	500	pieces
Cow hides	...	100,000	"
Benjamin	...	100	piculs
Dried fish	...	19,000	"
Rosewood	...	200,000	"

But although the treaty appeared to have cleared the way to commercial freedom, affairs were still far from satisfactory. Mr. Adey Moore quotes some of Hunter's troubles; and whether or not Hunter's case was quite as sound as he made it out to be it is apparent that the Government was still far from realising its responsibilities.

Pallegoix records, with eloquent indignation, the great number of monopolies which existed in his day and blames an English Ambassador for suggesting the idea to the King. These monopolies were "farms": and the good bishop probably forgot that France and England had both the same form of revenue collection in the days when their revenue services were still in their infancy. The farm system is always bad, but the Government was at least reaching out for control and had definitely abandoned state trading.

I do not think the Bishop was a sound authority upon commerce. Incidentally he mentions that the measurement duty of 1700 ticals per wah was made expressly to hinder Europeans, and especially the English, in their trading. It was, of course, the rate agreed upon when Burney made his treaty. But the Bishop thinks that a measurement duty by which a cheap cargo paid as much duty

as a valuable one was a very reasonable and a system. The trading community expressed their when the system was changed.

Bowring's treaty of 1856 was the inevitable outcome of the existing state of affairs, and its value may be judged by the remarkable development of Siam's trade since the treaty was made, a development which would not have been possible if the safeguards and assurances provided by the treaty had not been secured. It must not be overlooked, however, that there were other important agencies at work. The treaty was made at a time when the Throne was occupied by an enlightened and enterprising Monarch whose life was devoted with singular faithfulness to the interests of his country. It was a time, also when steam was taking the place of sail (the first steam ship was brought to Bangkok by Hunter in 1843); and cargoes could be carried up and down the Gulf independently of the monsoons. As steam vessels increased, the junk traffic, and with it the Chinese control, diminished. One after another the trading nations of the world — some of them nations which had borne no share of the heat and burden of the pioneer days — copied Bowring's treaty. Consulates were established, and under their shelter, secured from oppression and guaranteed against injury resulting from caprice and corruption, the foreign merchants built up, in a country which was only just beginning to learn the art of good government, the substantial edifice of commercial prosperity which we see to-day.

have developed great ability in directing and controlling official affairs, they have acquired no powers of judgment or application in connection with the affairs of commerce. Their business ability has not risen above the stage of bargaining. The spirit of commerce has passed them by, although the lure of profit has not; and they remain aloof, untaught, and disinclined to learn.

This brings me to my second point, which is that the commercial development of Siam has at all times been in the hands of foreigners. Setting on one side the Royal and official traders, who merely bought and sold commodities which their power enabled them to control, it is a startling fact that the trading houses have always been foreign, and that even the ships, built in Siam of Siamese timber, and carrying Siamese produce, have been manned and piloted almost entirely by foreigners — Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and European.\*

I cannot close without inviting you to think of the men to whom Siam owes its emergence from the obscurity of a veiled Eastern existence; those rough-tongued, hard-living merchant adventurers of the West, who, attracted by the hope of glory as well as by the lust of gain, set out in their small craft across the uncharted seas, fearful of dangers natural and supernatural, yet daring all.

There are great names among them, names which have come down through the centuries, and will pass on to future generations; great names whose lustre is reflected on this country.

Their bones lie on the sea-floors of these coasts, and in the grass-grown forgotten corners of sleepy townships; but their work stands.

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\* Note:—During the last few years a beginning has been attempted with a Siamese-manned commercial fleet. The development of this enterprise will be watched by all with sympathetic interest.

# Appendix.

Comparison of Trade Figures at different periods during the last seventy years. The figures for 1850 are those given by Mgr. Pallegoix. They do not appear to be at all reliable, many of them being obviously overestimated. The figures for 1919-20 are not the latest available, but that year is taken as the last year of comparatively normal trade except for the Rice exports.

PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES.	1850.				1892.		1901.		1919-20.	
		Pels.			Pels.		Pels.		Pels.	
Agilla Wood ..	..	6,000			475		703		1,072	
Benzoïn ..	..	200			537		138		74	
Cardamoms ..	..	6,700			2,970		2,437		5,365	
Coconut Oil ..	..	700,000			..		..		..	
Cotton ..	..	200,000			..		..		..	
Fish ..	..	190,000			3,732		..		..	
Gamboge ..	..	600.			119,154		5,331		..	
Hides—Buffalo and Cow ..	..	120,000			282		277,201		..	
" Deer ..	..	..			19,224		45		6,423	
Horns—Deer ..	..	..			13,424		19,431		156,729	
Indigo ..	..	..			7,682		15,952		649	
Iron ..	..	30,000			1,472		60,308		60,270	
Ivory ..	..	60,000			404		2,120		215,658	
Pepper ..	..	20,000			..		412		250	
Rice ..	..	500			..		1		331	
Salt ..	..	70,000			45		58		..	
Sappan Wood ..	..	15,000,000*			19,737		19,424		..	
Sticklac ..	..	12,000			3,426,736		11,516,731		17	
Sugar ..	..	500,000,			16,698		35,085		16,544	
" Palm ..	..	11,000			34,314		13,222		7,409,453†	
..	..	250,000.			4,351		9,831		1,048,802	
Teak ..	..	180,000			454		17		61,111	
	..	130,000			..		..		17,863	
	..	..			11,444		38,507		71,775	
	..	..			3,394		60,688		..	
	..	..			..		..		70,202	

Total Value of Trade:—

Imports ...  
Exports ...

1892.	1901.	1919-20.
£	£	£
1,338,462	2,893,032	12,272,968
1,431,936	4,589,222	15,718,170

\* This figure is plainly absurd.



## THE CITY OF THAWARAWADI SRI AYUDHYA.

by

HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE DHANI NIVAT.

In our critical notes on Thai documents of the 17th century which were secured from Copenhagen, (JSS. Vol. XXXI, pt. 1), Major Seidenfaden and I remarked upon 'the twin name of the former capital—Thawārāwadi Sī Ayudhyā—and went on to say that it was the earliest use yet found in the written contemporary literature of the country. In fact I wrote a separate note setting out instances of how the capital was referred to in what survived of the national literature as well as in documents preserved abroad in the form of treaties and official correspondence. An attempt was made to come to some conclusion as to how the twin name crept in. There were, however, many other contributions to the *Journal of the Siam Society*, some of which had been pending publication for a long time. As a member of the Editorial Committee, it seemed incumbent upon me to waive my right before those of others. That note was therefore postponed. In the meantime further reading has induced me to modify some of my conclusions and the present article has been rewritten altogether.

In that former note I started out with the statement that modern Thailand knows the former capital of the country by the twin name referred to above. The immediate authority for it was the history of Prince Paramanujit, which a generation ago was the only source of historical knowledge within the access of the public. That work, however, was written some four and a half centuries after the founding of Ayudhya and its alleged naming. There seemed to be reasons on more than one ground for doubting whether the name really existed at the time of the establishment of the capital in 1350.

Firstly, on the ground of its significance, the History of Prince Paramanujit tells us that since the founder of the city adopted the

style and title of *Rama the Sovereign* (Ramadhipati) the analogy was carried on by naming his capital after that of the Indian hero of the epics. Instead, however, of naming it *Ayodhya*, it was said to have been named *Thawarawadi Sri Ayudhya*. (The middle word *Sri* is a mere eulogic expletive often employed in nomenclature.) The question therefore arises as to the wherefore of the first part of the name. Thawarawadi was in all likelihood meant to refer to Dvāravatī, an alternative version of the name of Dvārakā, the capital of the hero Krishna, who, however, was a much later figure in Indian chronological tradition. Moreover no connection with this personage has ever been claimed by the Thai monarchy; and Krishna has been almost unknown, and in any case never an inspiration to the Thai at any time. It was also explained there that as the new capital was situated on an island in the river and therefore surrounded by water like the ancient Dvaravati, it was so named. Now, although the Indian city of Dvārakā is said to have been submerged in the sea, the name, of course, means *the city of gates*. It is not quite clear whether that explanation was one handed down from the time of its foundation, or an interpolation. In any case the name must have in time become accepted as a matter of course, to such an extent that when King Rama I. of Bangkok wrote his story of Rama—the *Ramkien*—he explained that the capital of Rama, the Indian hero, was founded in *the forest called Thawarawadi*, which name was made up of the initial letters of the four seers who helped to choose the site (Añonkāwī, Yaka-akra Thaha, and Yakamunī) thus resulting in the combination of *Thawarawadi + Sri + Ayudhya*. There is also an undated prose work called *Nirai Sibpāng* which relates the same story, and it was probably this work which supplied King Rama I. with the material for his *Ramkien*. It will be seen, therefore, that the reason given for the combination of the names on the ground of significance is hardly plausible, although the combination might have been accepted for some time past.

On the ground of usage I was at first inclined to believe that the combination was a late interpolation, but have since changed my opinion. Among the legal enactments of King Ramadhipati I., the founder of Ayudhya, the combination of the names is found in the Law of Evidence (1350), the Law on Royal Authority (1351), and the Law on Ordeals (1355), whilst only *Sri Ayudhya* is used in the Law on Receiving Plaints (1355) and the Law on Abduction (1356), and

others again had no occasion to refer to the name of the capital at all. It will not be necessary to cite later Laws, for they are like the ones just mentioned in that both the combination form and the form Ayudhya by itself are found. Taking other evidences in a chronological order, we find that the *Ratanabimbaramsa*, a history of the Emerald effigy of the Buddha written in Chiengmai in 1429, called our capital *Ayojjha*, the Pali equivalent of Ayodhyā; whilst another history of Buddhism, the *Jinakālamālīnī*, written also in Pali and also in Chiengmai about 1516, adopted a slightly different form of the same name—*Ayōjjā*. Neither seemed to have been aware of the combination.

The *Yuan Phai*, a heroic poem in Siamese written during the latter half of the 15th century, referred twice to *Ayodhya*.<sup>1</sup>

The Inscription of Dānsāi,<sup>2</sup> dated 1560, adopted a formal tone as being an official document but did not include *Thawarawadi*. It referred to the capital as *Phra Mahanakon Sri Ayodhya, mahadilokaphobh nobharatna*. . . This was the identical form of the official full name which has been handed down to this day, with the exception of *Thawarawadi*, which should have been inserted in front of *Sri Ayodhya*.

The next evidence is the letter (cited above) from the Governor of Tenasserim to Denmark, dated 1620, which I have pointed out as being the earliest instance yet met with of the full combination being used in a contemporary written document. In the correspondence with the Prince of Orange, we find references only to Ayudhya, thus: *Judia*,<sup>3</sup> the latter reference being dated 1636. There are other instances of Ayudhya being used alone, especially by foreigners, such for instance

the British version of *Oudea*.<sup>4</sup> In 1664, a treaty was concluded with the Dutch in which the name appeared just *Judia*.<sup>5</sup> Then we have the Franco-Siamese treaty of 1688<sup>6</sup> which did not use the word *Thawarawadi* either, merely using the form *Sri Ayudhya*. Within a few years of the treaty, we have the *Historical Relation*

Stanzas 63 & 65, Royal Library edition, B. E. 2456.

BEFEO. XV, 2. First: *Nolan d'epigraphie*, pp. 32-3.

JSS. XXX, 3, p. 315, & 316.

ibid. p. 299.

ibid. p. 326.

JSS. XIV, 2, 1921.



of the Kingdom of Siam by Monsieur de la Loubère, who said that the capital was called *Si-go-thi-ga*, with the additional explanation that the *o* of the second syllable was closer than our diphthong *ou*. He also gave the full official name of *Crung-the-pa-pra-maha-raja*, which seems to confirm the inscription of Dānsāi.

The half century following the above period was a time of trouble and we have no evidence from any source until 1757, when the Prime Minister, Chao Phyā Chammān Boriraks, wrote in Pali<sup>1</sup> to the Prime Minister of the Kandyan Kingdom in Ceylon making use of the full title thus.

..... *Dera-Mahana-gura Parara Devarāṭi siri Ayudhya Mahatilakabhara maharajana rajadhani puriranga.*

Poetry of this late period of Ayudhya, for instance the *Bunnorad*, used either part of the name separately and freely.

It may be summed up then that in point of usage the full name of *Thawārāwadi Sri Ayudhyā* occurred in some of the Law preambles even as early as the time of the founder of the city himself but was not invariably used. Even solemn official documents, such as the Dānsāi inscription, did not employ it. Almost all foreign reference dropped the *Thawārāwadi* part of it altogether.

Before coming to a definite conclusion, let us now examine the word on the ground of etymology. *Thawārāwadi* is, as has been already pointed out above, the more or less phonetic transcription according to the way it is pronounced in the Thai language of the Sanskrit word *Dvāravati*. I had been inclined when originally writing this article to doubt whether it really referred to *Dvārakā*, the capital of Krishna, or something else. Further examination of a wider range of materials has convinced me that it did without doubt refer to *Dvārakā*. The gist of the *Mahabharata* is contained in a birth-story of the Buddha (*Ghatapandita Jātaka*, section x of the *Jātaka*), and in that the capital of Krishna is invariably called *Dvāravati*. It proves that in Buddhist India, before the epoch of classical Sanskrit and even before the Epics, that capital was known as such rather than as *Dvārakā*. This fact is moreover interesting in that it supplies yet another proof of the theory that a great deal of Indian culture as it is found in this part of the World antedates the classical period.

<sup>1</sup> see Prince Damrong: *The Establishment of the Siam Sect of the Buddhist Clergy in Ceylon*, in *Thai*, B.E. 2459.

of Sanskrit literature. Other evidences tending that way have been recognised, such as the Law codes, in which the account of the genesis was different from that of the orthodox Hindu Law codes of Manu. With the identification therefore of Thawārāwadi with Dvāravati and Dvārakā, there remains hardly any more doubt as to the word's etymology. This automatically clears up what doubt there was when examining the word from the source of its significance and we may assume that the adoption of the name was intentional. We are left, therefore, with no other alternative solution than that the capital was given the full name of Thawārāwadi Sṛi Ayudhyā *from the time of its foundation*.

For historians who might wish to argue against the acceptance of the evidence of the authenticity of the age of the Laws, I should like to plead in defence of those old Laws as far as the preambles are concerned. It is true that the Laws underwent a thorough revision in 1805. It is also possible that modifications and deletions, or even additions, were made from time to time affecting the Laws; but those changes were probably limited to the articles of the Statutes rather than the preambles, which could not have undergone any change except through inaccuracies of copying. The enactments of Rama-dhipati I. are singularly distinct and recognisable by their employment of the Buddhist era, and I feel that there is really no reason to suspect the authenticity of their preambles.

The name Dvaravati was not used only in this instance, but has been applied to other places. I am indebted to Phya Indra Montri for the information he secured for me from Burma that Sandoway and Arrakan were both known by the name of Dvaravati. It has also been adopted by M. Cordès—provisionally, for want of a more definitely accurate name<sup>1</sup> to designate a state which was existing on the lower Menam valley. Neither of these instances, however, have anything to do with the case in point and may therefore be passed over.

While discussing the name Dvaravati, it may not be out of place to bring up another aspect of the question—*how to spell the name*. Without wishing, as M. Burney wrote,<sup>2</sup> to be bringing up for ever a

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Recueil des Inscriptions*, Vol. I 1.  
JRS. XXIV, 1.

discussion which is somewhat byzantine, I am strongly tempted to put in a word in defence of those *Siamois du XIX<sup>me</sup> siècle*, à commencer par le Roi Mongkut who were *étymologistes impénitents*, parfois *fantaisistes*, through whose fault, it seems, an *anarchy* in matters orthographical has remained to our days.

Long before the *anarchy*, said to have been started by King Mongkut and his contemporaries, set in, we have a poem dating from the time of King Narai which used the short form of *Thawārāwādī*, thus:

ปึงพระจักรีแปรปน	กฤษณราชรอดูเชษฐ
อวินทรเสี้ยนสขบนา	
เสดจนาในเมืองทวา	รพคิสมขา
คือวิษณุโลกขบปาน	

*Anirudh Kham Chand.*

Now, it may be contended that the short form was a matter of poetical licence: but, as it happens, this type of verse does not require quantitative exactitude. A long *rā* would have been equally correct. I do not know what other reason there may have been but that of the admissibility of the short syllable *rā*.

Towards the end of the 18th century, when Ayudhya was still the capital, we have among others the following passages, where the short form occurs:

แวนแคว้นกรงเทพทวา	รวคิมหา
คิลกลอสโพบูล	

*Bunnowād*

and—

เปนสุริยวงศทวารวดี	หน่อไทรวิศว์
ทศรฐอันเรืองเคชา	

*Kham phak Rāmukien.*

Then within half a century of that *anarchy* itself:

เจดอมเผ้าภพแผ่นธรณี	ทวารวดีศรี
อชเชศเขตศขาม	

*Saṃphasith Kham Chand.*

เป็นปิ่นนรานิกรหมุ่	มุกษมาคอบนตรี
ในกรงทวารวดีศรี	ศกะภาคโพบูล

*Sudhanū Kham Chand.*

In none of these instances, I believe, could it be said that a short syllable is required by prosody. Why then is it short?

It is not my intention here to challenge M. Burnay's theory of the quantitative structure of – o – for all words in the Thai language, my argument concerning just the word Dvaravati. Even here nevertheless there are already two syllables preceding the quantitative structure of – o –. Were I to explain why the third syllable has been lengthened in so many cases in the Thai application of this word, I should be inclined to put the blame, not on those *fantastic etymologists* of the 19th century, but on those early pioneers of Indianisation who misapplied the rules of Sanskrit grammar by *insisting on* the third syllable being lengthened. There is, of course, a certain process in Sanskrit grammar which permits (but does not *insist on*) the lengthening of the short *a* preceding the suffix *vati*. The process is known to Sanskritists as that of *gunating*, the name having been coined from the Sanskrit word *guṇa*, quality, because in lengthening it, more quality is thereby given to the short vowel *ā*.

Bangkok, August 11th, 1939.



## KINGSHIP IN SIAM

By

*Phya Srivisarn Vacha*

1. A state in the modern sense implies the existence of three attributes: (1) a community of people united together by some common tie, (2) fixed territory and (3) full sovereignty. For our purpose, we need only deal with the first attribute. It is but natural that a community of people must possess certain means of expressing itself through certain mediums. If every member of the community were to be allowed to give his opinion simultaneously on a given question, the result would be confusion. Hence the necessity of appointing representatives of the people, who are given delegated powers by certain groups of people to represent them in the field of legislature. It is to be noted that these representatives of the people are elected individually by certain groups of people and they do not, in fact, represent the whole people.

In the modern structure of a state, apart from the legislature there are two other independent organs performing different functions. I refer to the Executive and the Law Courts. Each organ exercises very important functions of the state but none of them can be said to incorporate all the functions of the state and so none of them can properly be regarded as representing the state as a whole.

2. When a law is enacted, it becomes necessary to proclaim it to the people. A state also cannot exist by itself without coming into contact with other states. When such a contact is made, it becomes necessary to devise certain means by which the will of the state can be communicated. Hence through natural and logical development a symbol of unity came into being. This symbol of unity represents the highest authority in the land so that law and order can be proclaimed within the territories and contact and intercourse with foreign countries can be made abroad. In a republic you have the President, in a monarchy the King. The forms of government may be different, but both President and King fulfil the same

functions and are regarded, at least in the eye of the law, as being in the highest degree the best type of the very people they represent.

3. In this country, from time immemorial, we have been governed by a King. If we take into account the conditions of the past, we shall find that there were reasons for this. In the earlier period of our history, people had to fight for their very existence. They had to find a leader that would give them unity and protection. This leader became their King. If the community is threatened by an invasion, the King has to lead his people to battle and defend them from their enemies. From this it can be seen that dire necessity urged the people to choose a King to be their leader both in time of peace and in time of war and that kingship in this country was being practised on the patriarchal basis. Even now in the formal name of the King, there appear the words "Anekchonnikorn samosorn sommot" (อนุกชนนิกร สโมสรสมมต) which means "elected by the people". As a matter of fact, the tradition of election or approval of a new king has been faithfully followed in practice up to this day. On the accession of King Prajadhipok to the throne, a meeting was held of the leading members of the royal family and high officials and they unanimously offered the throne to the new king. Since the adoption of a constitutional monarchy in 1932 succession to the throne has to be in accordance with the Law of Succession B.E. 2467 as well as with the approval of Parliament.

From a stone inscription of the Sukhothai period in the reign of our famous King Phra Khun Ramkamhaeng (13th century), we are in a position to know something of the Thai tradition in force at that time. I can do no better than quote a passage from an address made by H.H. Prince Dhani Krommamun Bidyalab entitled "The Old Siamese Conception of the Monarchy" (see the Journal of the Siam Society vol. XXXVI. Part 2, December 1947).

"The old Thai had their own traditions of Kingship. The monarch was of course the people's leader in battle; but he was also in peace time their father whose advice was sought and respected

in all matters and whose judgment was accepted by all. He was moreover accessible to his people, for we are told by an old inscription that in front of the royal palace of Sukhothai there used to be a gong hung up for the people to go and beat upon whenever they wanted personal help or redress. The custom survived with slight modifications all through the centuries down to the change of regime in 1932. Under Kings Rama VI and Prajadhipok, for instance, instead of the gong, there used to be stationed at the front gate of the Grand Palace a gentleman-at-arms or "tamruac luang", whose duty it was to receive any written petition which a subject could submit to his King."

The name of King Ramkamhaeng or rather the name by which he was called by his people, i.e. Poh Khun Ramkamhaeng, bears out the above statement. Poh means father, and Poh Khun would mean something like Father Ruler.

4. Relationship between the rulers and their subject on the patriarchal basis in the course of time led to the conception of kingly virtues. Here again I would like to quote another passage from the address made by H.H. Prince Bidyalab entitled "The Old Siamese Conception of Monarchy".

"What formalised this patriarchal kingship was the constitution of the "Thammasat"(from the Pali "Dhammasatha") which we got from the Mon. Its origin may be very old. Its inspiration was doubtless older, for it can be traced to "Digha Nikaya" of the "Tripitaka" which Rhys Davids assigns to the Vth century B.C. The "Thammasat" describes its ideal of a monarch as a King of Righteousness, elected by the people (Mahasammata). According to the "Thammasat" the ideal monarch abides steadfast in the ten kingly virtues, constantly upholding the five common precepts and on holy days the set of eight precepts, living in kindness and goodwill to all beings. He takes pains to study the Thammasat and to keep the four principles of justice, namely, to assess the right or wrong of all service or disservice rendered to him, to uphold the righteous and truthful, to acquire riches through none but just means and to maintain the prosperity of his state through none but just means".



The ten kingly virtues above-mentioned are :

- (1) Almsgiving, i.e. charity to individuals,
- (2) Morality, i.e. proper observance of the moral precepts,
- (3) Liberality, i.e. the giving away of something that belongs to us for public benefit,
- (4) Straightforwardness,
- (5) Gentleness,
- (6) Self-restriction, i.e. an attempt to rid oneself of all evils,
- (7) Non-anger,
- (8) Non-violence, i.e. with no desire to hurt or retaliate on anyone,
- (9) Forbearance,
- (10) Rectitude.

The five precepts mentioned above are in concept very like the ten commandments, but they are more in the form of recommendations which may be adopted by any individual. On ordinary days a good law-abiding individual would normally undertake to abide by the 5 precepts, viz.

- (1) I undertake not to kill
- (2) I undertake not to steal
- (3) I undertake not to commit adultery
- (4) I undertake not to tell an untruth
- (5) I undertake not to take intoxicating drinks.

Then on holy days, it is thought that the undertakings might be increased to eight, and three more undertakings are sometimes made, i.e.

- (6) I undertake not to take meals at improper time
- (7) I undertake not to dance and not to use perfumes
- (8) I undertake not to sleep on a high bedding.

These three additional precepts are meant rather for those in the monastery, but occasionally and on certain days laymen also observe them. As for the meaning of improper time for meals, this has been interpreted to mean that all meals must be taken before noon. After midday no food of any kind is to be taken. The reason for this might be to prevent the monks from giving

further trouble to the community, who have to prepare the food for them. Precepts (7) forbidding dancing and perfumes and (8) forbidding high beddings would seem to aim at austerity.

5. From what has been said, it can be seen that under Thai tradition the King is the leader of his people in the sense that he is the father of them all. He feels with them in their hour of need and he rejoices with them in their hour of triumph and success. In fact, his life and work are bound together to the lot of his people. And in order to help him to perform his duty well, he is enjoined to observe the 10 kingly virtues above-mentioned and the four principles of justice. If we study carefully these ten kingly virtues and the four principles of justice, we shall find that their main purpose is to ensure that the King should combine in himself the sense of righteousness, impartiality, liberality, mercy, and a high standard of morality, in other words that he should be the embodiment of all the respected virtues of the land with the expectation that under the regime of such a being there would result peace and contentment.

Of course, in practice, human beings being as they are, perfection cannot be attained. If a measure of success is achieved, this in itself should be a matter for satisfaction. This is true, not only of this country, but of all countries all over the world.

6. I have endeavoured to give you an idea of the background on which our institution of kingship has been built up. Did our kings live up to the standard required of them? It is difficult to give a reply to cover all the periods of history. Some of our kings were, indeed, very good. Others did not live up to the ideal required of them. But of the present Chakri dynasty, which started from the year 1782, it can be truly said that their reigns have been beneficial to the people. Two kings of this dynasty deserve to be expressly mentioned. I refer to King Rama IV or, as he is popularly called, King Mongkut and his son King Chulalongkorn.

7. When his father King Rama II died in 1824, King Mongkut was only 20 years old and was ordained as a monk. Although he was considered to be the rightful heir to the throne, he made no attempt whatsoever to put forward his claim, and in consequence his brother King Rama III was proclaimed king. King Mongkut remained in the monastery for a period of 26 years. During that time he devoted his time, not only to the study of the Buddhist doctrine, but also to the study of the history and customs of his country, to the study of the English language and, through the English language, of mathematics, astronomy and other sciences still unknown in this country. He became in time quite an expert in all the studies he took up. He could speak fluently in Pali and in English. In astronomy he was able to calculate the exact moment of a solar eclipse in 1868 visible in the south of this country.

In 1851 King Rama III died and King Mongkut was asked to leave the monastery to assume his duties as King. The King was alive to the fact that western imperialism was at that time spreading to the East. China had to open her ports through the opium war. The ports of Japan were similarly forced open. The King foresaw that, unless some timely measures were taken, a similar fate would befall this country and no-one could then say what might be the ultimate outcome. Hence, of his own free will, the King opened up the country to foreign trade and thereby was instrumental in saving the country from a foreign yoke. Treaties with foreign powers were made during this reign and diplomatic relations were established with England, France and America. Printing presses were set up. Roads and canals were built. Europeans and Americans were employed, some as interpreters and translators, some as instructors of the army and police forces, which the King began to model on the European fashion. The King also made one very important innovation in the tradition of kingship. It had been the custom for all the officials to drink the water of allegiance to the King. Hitherto no kings drank the water in token of their own loyalty to the people. King Mongkut started the practice of drinking also the water of allegiance as a token of his own loyalty to the whole people.

8. King Mongkut was well versed in astrology. On his return from the south after seeing the eclipse of the sun, he caught cold and had fever. From his own calculations, he knew that he would die on a certain date. He summoned his Ministers and advised them that in choosing a successor to the throne they should have in mind only the security and tranquillity of the realm. His successor might be a younger brother or a nephew, provided that it would ensure peace and happiness for his people. His own son was still too young and the Ministers must carefully consider whether he would be able to assume the care of the state. The King then dictated a farewell message in Pali to the Order of Monks. In this farewell message he pointed out that "death should not be a surprise, since death must normally befall all creatures that come into the world." He also added that "although his body may suffer yet his mind is clear and tranquil."

It may be of interest to you to know what the contemporaries of King Mongkut thought of him. Sir John Bowring, the Governor of Hongkong who came to this country to negotiate the Treaty with Great Britain, wrote a book on this country. He referred to King Mongkut as "the rare and illustrious example of a successful devotion of the time and talent of a great Oriental Sovereign to the cultivation of the literature and the study of the philosophy of western nations." Mr. W.A.R. Wood, a former British Consul General in this country, in his book entitled "A History of Siam" (1926) at page 278, wrote as follows: "Rama IV was a very remarkable man. He spoke English fluently and wrote it with great charm of style, and though in some respects he held firmly to old fashions and traditions, in all important matters he was always on the side of progress."

From what has been said, you can picture to yourself a man of 57 years of age (that was the age when Anna saw the king for the first time), who had unselfishly renounced his right to the throne at the early age of 20 and devoted 25 years of his life to celibacy and study, who became so proficient in all the subjects he

took up that he was regarded as an expert in them all, who on assuming the duties of kingship adopted the wise policy of opening up his country to foreign trade and thereby saving it from a foreign yoke, whose keen sense of fairness prompted him to introduce the practice for the King of drinking to the loyalty to his people in return for the drinking by the people of the water of allegiance to the King, who at the moment of death preserved his calmness and tranquillity and advised his Ministers on the choice of his successor to choose only the best man who would be able to bestow peace and happiness on the people without any regard to the rightful claim of his own son. In other words, you see before you a servant, a philosopher, a man with common sense, a patriot who is both fair-minded and just. Can such a man be so cruel, so grotesque and so monstrous as he was made out to be in the books of Anna? I would leave the answer to your sense of justice and fairness.

Mr. Alexander B. Griswold, an American who has spent a great deal of his time in the study of this country, has written an article called "The Real King Mongkut of Siam". I would ask leave to make a quotation.

"It was in the 1870's, upon her return to the west after spending five years in Bangkok as a teacher to the King's children, that Anna published her two books "The English Governess at the Siamese Court" and "The Romance of the Harem". Though they purport to give a full and faithful account of the scenes and characters that were gradually unfolded to Anna, and though they contain lovely descriptions of places which those of us who have some knowledge of Siam cannot recall without a pang of nostalgia, they are full of mistakes, exaggerations and downright falsehoods.

"Anna was a careless observer and a credulous listener. Her frequent mistranslation of Siamese phrases show that she never mastered the language. Apparently she never thought any piece of scandal improbable enough to require checking. Like many Victorian ladies she was always ready to suspect the worst.

"She depicts the King as a ferocious monster, Some of the things she says about him may be due to honest errors, but a great many are deliberate fabrications-designed perhaps to satisfy her malice against a man whom she did not like, or perhaps to make her books sensational and therefore more readily saleable'. Often these fabrications are easy to spot, as when she tells us that he locked up disobedient wives in a subterranean dungeon in the palace-for anyone who has lived in Bangkok knows that it is impossible to build any sort of underground room in that watery soil. Sometimes it takes a little literary detective work to expose her fabrications, as in the case of her story regarding the new gate built in 1865 in the wall of the Grand Palace. She tells us that King Mongkut had some innocent passersby butchered and their corpses buried under the gate-posts so that their restless spirits might forever haunt the place and drive intruders away. There is, however, a detailed account of just such a sacrifice in a French missionary's report for 1831-long before King Mongkut came to the throne. Anna describes the event with exactly the same details and almost the same phraseology, unwarily providing further evidence of her plagiarism in the form of one or two mistranslations of French words. Obviously she has moved the incident 34 years forward and accused the wrong man."

9. King Mongkut died in the year 1868. He was succeeded by his son King Chulalongkorn, under whose able direction the work of modernising the country was carried on and ultimately completed.

King Chulalongkorn knew that both his father and he himself were thinking ahead of their own time. It was, therefore, necessary that the people at large should be taught the western ways. The most effective way of attaining this goal was through education. The spread of education on a general scale was initiated. The King's own sons and the sons of the princes and the nobles were sent abroad to study in the various branches of government service. On their return to the country, many of them became quite famous in their own field of work.

In 1892 the whole system of government was reorganised. The various Ministries with their own particular jurisdictions were set

up. Each Minister was made responsible for his own Ministry and all Ministers were responsible to the King. Foreign Advisers were engaged so that expert advice could be obtained in all branches of administration. The King also set up the office of the General Adviser, who was to advise him on all matters of administration but with special reference to foreign affairs. The first General Adviser was a former Foreign Minister of Belgium, Monsieur Rolin Jacquemyns, who was subsequently given the title of Chao Phraya Abbhairaja. The next General Adviser was an American, Mr. Strobel, a Harvard man. The office of the General Adviser was later on changed into Adviser in Foreign Affairs, but those who held the office were, after Mr. Strobel, invariably American and almost all of them came from Harvard.

It was King Chulalongkorn who initiated the abolition of slavery. He did it at a time when the royal princes and the nobles were against such a measure. He, however, went forward with his measure of reform and in 1905 slavery was ultimately abolished. It is no wonder that the people at large adored this King and he is called "The Beloved" up to this day. The statue of this King on horseback in front of the Annanta Samagom Throne Hall was built through public subscription in token of the deep gratitude felt by the people of this country.

10. I have given you a brief account of the role of royalty in this country. Since June 1932 we have adopted the form of constitutional monarchy and the rights and duties of the King are governed by the constitution. But the tradition of kingship still lives. Our kings still abide by the ten kingly virtues and the four principles of justice, for they are, in fact, the guiding principles of good government. The aim of all governments is to secure the happiness and contentment of the people, and any government that attains this end can be said to have achieved its purpose. Hence the criterion of a good government is the result of its administration and not in the form in which it functions. I now beg leave to make a quotation from the English poet Alexander Pope:

"For forms of government let fools contest,  
Whatever's best administered is best."





## Siam and the Pottery Trade of Asia

a century and only in two small localities around Sukhothai and Sawankalok on the banks of the Yom River in north-central Siam. Before the 14th century their efforts had been limited to producing crude earthenwares and some stonewares for everyday household use, and after their one comparatively brief foray into the finer ceramic field they again confined themselves until modern times to making these same simple but practical utensils. Such wares have played and continue to play an important part in the life of the Thai, for in the ordinary Siamese household until the advent of cheap, foreign-made aluminum and enamel pots and pans, earthen and stoneware vessels have occupied a more conspicuous place than metal utensils. This is not necessarily a reflection on the metallurgical skill of the Thai, for over much of the same period of their history they have displayed a remarkable genius in the casting of bronze Buddha images and cannon, and in the making of steel weapons and other metal articles. We can only conclude, therefore, that, aside from the element of cost, the Thai have had some sort of aesthetic predilection for earthen and stoneware utensils for their homes.

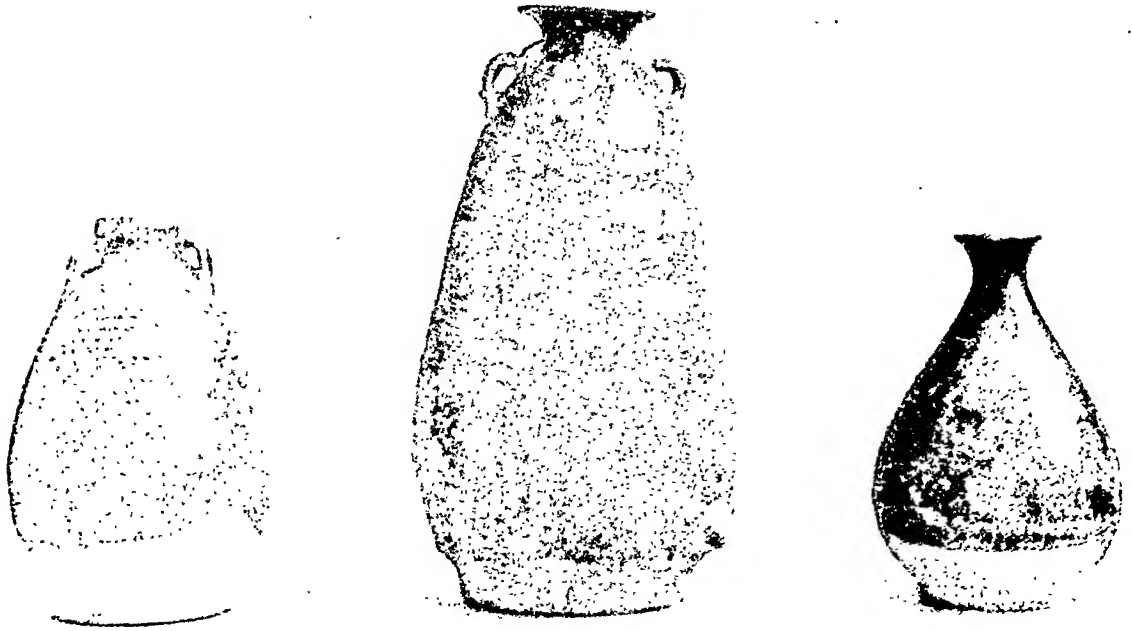
Yet it is strange that the Thai peoples apparently did not bring with them any advanced ceramic techniques from China when they left their ancestral kingdom of Nan Chao in southern Yünnan Province. During the period of the Nan Chao Kingdom the Thai undoubtedly achieved a fairly advanced stage of civilization, and they must have been in some contact with the exciting ceramic developments which took place in China during the T'ang and Sung periods. Yet all this seems to have been left behind when the Thai began their large-scale migrations southward from Nan Chao toward the end of the Sung dynasty. Their next probable contact with more advanced ceramic methods came as a result of their relationship with the Khmer in the Menam Valley of Siam. Some samples of very early Thai pottery bear marked similarities to the work of the Khmer, not only in form but also with respect to their rather brittle type of glaze. The Khmer apparently did not employ a true vitreous glaze, but used what appears to have been some lacquer-like substance of organic character. Japanese ceramic specialists call

this type of glaze *katsu-yū* (漆油), a term which, however, tells us nothing about the glaze itself beyond the obvious fact that it is often of a dark brown (*katsu*) color. It is possible that this type of glaze was similar to the lacquer-like material the Khmer apparently used instead of lime mortar to bind together the bricks of their temples and other structures. I have also been impressed by the similarity between these early Khmer and Thai glazes and the lacquer coatings both peoples applied to their stone Buddha images prior to covering them with gold leaf. In any event, the peculiar glaze found on Khmer jars and some of the early types of Thai pottery is not especially durable and in time tends to flake off from the earthenware base or wear away from exposure to the elements. A true vitreous glaze is an almost indestructible substance.

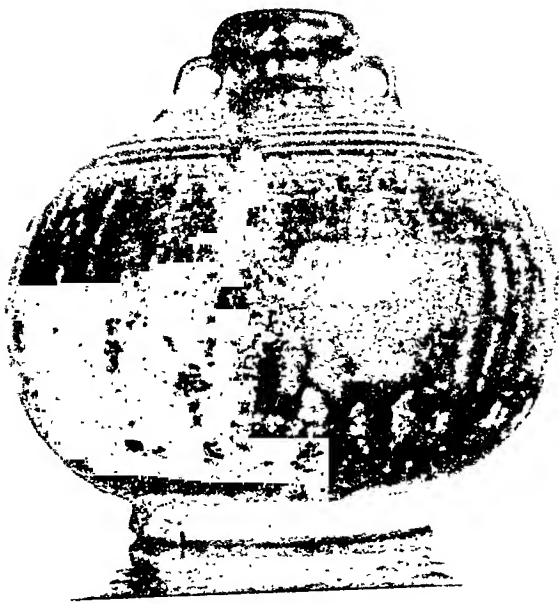
### Founding of Sukhothai and Thai Relations with China

The Thai migrants from Nan Chao who settled in northern and north-central Siam formed small principalities which by the 13th century had come under the suzerainty of the Khmer as they expanded their power over much of what is now Thailand. From about the middle of this century, however, the Thai princes began to grow restive and sought to assert their independence. About the middle of the 13th century the town of Sukhothai, one of the northern Khmer outposts, was seized by two rebellious Thai chieftains, one of whom borrowed the elegant Khmer style of Sri Indraditya and made himself king. Thus was established the Kingdom of Sukhothai, the first independent Thai state. The third son of Sri Indraditya, the illustrious Prince Rāma Khamhêng, succeeded to the throne of Sukhothai in 1375 and vastly extended the boundaries of his domain at the expense of the Khmer and the Môn. It is believed that much of the manpower for his military enterprises was provided by fresh streams of Thai pouring out of southern China as a result of the conquest of the Kingdom of Nan Chao by Kublai Khan in 1254.

# Examples of Siamese Ware with Dark Brown (*Katsu*) Glaze



A.



B.



C.

- A. Two small containers with "ears" for holding liquids and a vase-like bottle.  
(From the collection of Phya Meda Dhibodi)
- B. A vessel with "ears" typical of a type often made with a celadon-like glaze.  
(From the collection of Mr. Lek Viriyaphand)
- C. Wide-mouth jar with design incised through dark brown glaze.  
(From the collection of Mr. Lek Viriyaphand)

One of the significant events of King Rāma Khamhâng's reign was his establishment of political relations of a sort with the Yuan or Mongol dynasty of China. It is possible that the initiative for this step may have come from the Mongol Court itself, for in 1282 a Chinese emissary is said to have appeared at Sukhothai for the ostensible purpose of concluding a treaty of amity with the new Thai kingdom which would, of course, have been the Mongol's euphemistic way of inviting King Rāma Khamhâng to become the vassal of Kublai Khan. The Great Khan was now in his declining years. With his predecessor, Chinghis Khan, he had carved out a vast empire by military conquest, but now sought to consolidate his far-flung territories by re-establishing the traditional Chinese system of vassal states. In this way it would have been unnecessary for Kublai Khan in his old age to have embarked upon new military campaigns to subdue the kingdoms of Southeast Asia which he had not heretofore found time to conquer. The Mongol Court's emissary who arrived at Sukhothai in 1282 may have been making a circuit of some of these Southeast Asian kingdoms for this very purpose, since Chinese records indicate that in 1289 a Thai state to the south of Sukhothai, known to the Chinese as Law Hok Kok, sent a tribute embassy to Peking. This state was probably Luvo, later known as Lopburi. Another Yüan mission visited Angkor in 1296-97, one member of which, Chou Ta-kwan (周達觀), has left us the only extensive eye-witness account of the fabulous Khmer capital in his famous *Chêng La Fêng T'u Chi* (真臘風土記), or Account of the Customs of Chenla (Cambodia).

King Rāma Khamhâng responded to Kublai Khan's overtures. He had little choice in the matter, however, for to have refused to pay tribute to Peking would have incurred the wrath of the Mongols, while accepting a status of vassalage under the Yüan would, on the other hand, serve as an assurance against a possible reprisal invasion of Sukhothai by the Khmer. Accordingly, a Sukhothai tribute mission is said to have been despatched to China in 1294, and Thai tradition holds it was headed by King Rāma Khamhâng himself. Kublai Khan died the following year, 1295, and in 1300 a second mission from Sukhothai apparently proceeded to the Mongol capital,

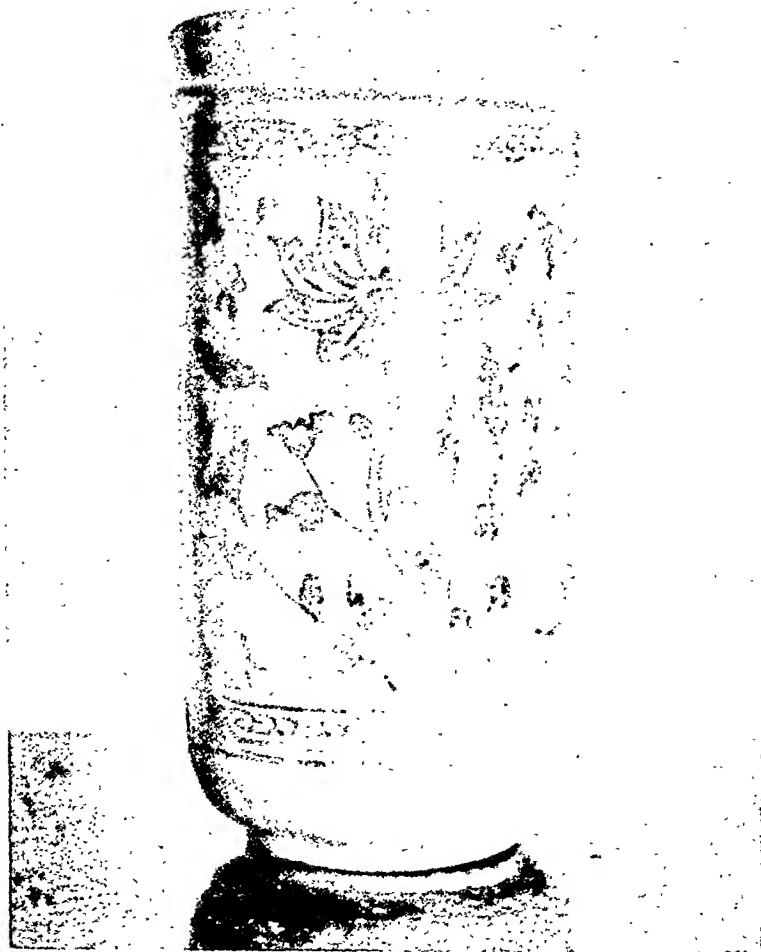
again headed, according to Thai tradition, by the king. This second mission was probably for the purpose of paying homage to Kublai Khan's successor who took the Chinese dynastic style of Ch'eng Tsung (成宗). Subsequent Thai rulers occasionally sent tribute missions to China. For example, on the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty in 1368, the Thai state of Ayuthia despatched a mission to the Ming capital at Nanking in 1371. Another Thai embassy in 1373 was reportedly headed by a Siamese princess. Throughout the 15th century there were several such Thai missions, and down to modern times China has always looked upon Siam as one of her vassal states while the Siamese kings to varying degrees appear to have vaguely recognized their tributary status.

### Chinese Ceramic Influence at Sukhothai

The significant point of all this for our story, however, lies in the fact that from the close of the 13th century some form of contact was established between the Thai kingdoms and China, which in turn provided the opportunity for commercial relations. The official exchanges and missions connected with the tributary status of kingdoms lying along the periphery of the Chinese Empire were often thinly disguised commercial enterprises, the tributary goods and return presents merely affording a pretext for profitable trade.

Trade as well as politics, therefore, may have accounted in part for King Rāma Khamhâng's supposed visits to China in 1294 and 1300. During his first visit he and his suite were undoubtedly overawed by the material splendor of China, and what must have impressed them as much as anything was the great abundance of fine pottery. Thai tradition holds, therefore, that on his second visit Rama Khamhâng brought back with him to Sukhothai a company of Chinese potters.

Some writers, notably the late Phraya Nakorn Phrah Ram, have tried to upset this tradition. Until recently it had rested largely on references in the early Thai chronicle, more recently known as the *Pongsawadan Ponok*, and the modern researches



A.



B.

- A. An unusual example of Sukhothai Ware  
 ( From the collection of the Mr. Lek Virayaphand )  
 B. Examples of Sukhothai glazed building ornaments and an elephant figurine.  
 ( Photograph by the author from the collection in Wat Yai, Pitsnulok )

of the late Prince Damrong. Reginald le May, one of the outstanding authorities on Thai pottery and art, made a thorough review of this problem in the March 1939 issue of the *Journal*, which was a critique on the views expressed by Phraya Nakorn Phrah Ram in an earlier issue. Le May found no reason to question the traditional belief that Chinese potters were actually brought to Siam and submitted some very substantial evidence in support of this view. In the first place, there began to be produced at Sukhothai early in the 14th century a type of pottery which was utterly new to anything heretofore produced in Siam or by the Khmer. This pottery is almost identical in style with the wares which were then being produced in the kilns at T'zu Choû (磁州) in Chihli (Ho-pei) Province south of Peking. Moreover, the wares produced at Sukhothai were fired in a manner entirely new to Siam, the bowls, jars and other vessels being placed on small earthenware stands, or pontils, with five pointed projections on their under sides. As the vessels were stacked in the kiln, one inside the other with a pontil between each vessel to prevent direct contact, the bottom of the interior of each vessel, except the very lowest one in the pile, invariably has five spur marks where the tips of the pontil were broken off when the pottery was removed from the kiln after firing. The appearance in Siam of this Chinese technical process strongly suggests the presence of potters from China.

There was, of course, nothing remarkable in the fact that a vassal king like Rāma Khamhâng or his representative could have arranged with the Mongol Court to bring a company of potters from T'zu Choû to Sukhothai. While at Peking the Thai undoubtedly saw T'zu Choû wares which were produced nearby and which were probably at the height of their popularity during the late Sung and Yüan periods. In fact, T'zu Choû wares were so popular that they were produced throughout the Ming period as well, for as Soame Jenyns has noted in his *Ming Pottery and Porcelain*, "these kilns are without rival in age and continuity." The products of T'zu Choû, however, were not one of the export wares, although fragments have been found in such widely separated regions as Mongolia and Indonesia. Nevertheless, King Rāma Khamhâng had gone to Peking

on a tribute-bearing mission, and when the outer barbarians paid homage in this manner the Mongol rulers had adopted the time-honored Chinese custom of bestowing upon such vassals some of the blessings of Chinese civilization. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that the Mongols in acknowledging King Rāma Khamhêng's tributary status were only too pleased to permit their vassal to share in some of the more advanced Chinese ceramic techniques and to allow him to take some skilled potters back to Siam.

There also may have been another more subtle reason why Rāma Khamhêng was permitted to take Chinese potters to Sukhothai. Having few cultural attainments of their own, the Mongols had readily adopted many of the customs and practices of China which were useful in giving their heterogeneous empire a greater degree of cultural unity as well as conferring upon themselves a more urbane, sophisticated character which was lacking in their nomadic heritage. The Mongols thereby became a kind of channel by which Chinese cultural influences were disseminated over large parts of Asia and even to Europe. We can find, therefore, an interesting as well as a striking parallel between the introduction of Chinese ceramic techniques into Siam and the introduction of Chinese pottery-making methods into Persia.

### The Persian Parallel

Between 1256 and 1265 Hulāgu, a brother of Kublai Khan, consolidated Mongol power in Iraq and Persia where he established a kind of Mongol sub-kingdom with its capital at Tabriz. Hulāgu was, of course, politically oriented to the Yüan Court at Peking, which at once made him to some degree culturally oriented to the civilization of China. Thus we find Hulāgu and his successors using Chinese-style seals in their official correspondence, impressions of which are still preserved in letters sent from the Tabriz Court to Philip the Fair of France. We also find that Hulāgu imported Chinese potters, papermakers and other skilled artisans to his capital, as a result of which Persian pottery, textiles and painting soon reflected a strong Chinese influence. The dragon, phoenix and other



Chinese emblems were incorporated into Persian ceramics, just as at the beginning of the 14th century, only a few years later, Chinese designs and techniques were being employed by Chinese potters at Sukhothai.

### Sukhothai and Sawankalok Wares

In attempting to reproduce the wares of T'zu Chou the potters at Sukhothai turned out a hard, thick stoneware having a white slip decorated with simple designs in black and brown under a rather thin, yellowish-grey glaze. It appears that Sukhothai ware was produced for only a brief time, possibly for only fifteen or twenty years, although the kilns in this area probably continued to make elaborate roof tiles and architectural ornaments for a much longer period. Tradition holds, however, that the Chinese potters soon became dissatisfied with the quality of the clay at Sukhothai, and with royal approval moved their kilns to a more favorable site near Sawankalok, some fifty miles north. Accordingly, there began to be produced at Sawankalok a new type of hard, thick stoneware of almost porcellaneous quality with incised and painted designs, along with great quantities of undecorated monochromes with glazes running from a bluish-grey to the typical celadon greens.

Thus from around the middle of the 14th century the kilns at Sawankalok began to make a type of ware totally different from what had been produced earlier at Sukhothai. This raises a very interesting problem which, so far as I know, has never been considered before. As noted, Sukhothai pottery was utterly new to Thai ceramic tradition and has an unmistakable affinity with the wares of T'zu Chou. Can it be possible, however, that if the potters who produced these wares moved to Sawankalok, presumably in search of better materials, they would almost at once have turned their hands to making an entirely different type of pottery in no way related to their T'zu Chou tradition? Artisans in the East, especially in the 14th century, were far too conservative and tradition-bound for such abrupt changes. This suggests the possibility that a second group of potters in no way connected with T'zu Chou or its tradition may have arrived in Siam from China, probably as a result of

another tribute mission similar to that undertaken by King Rāma Khamhêng. Some of the wares produced at Sawankalok may not suggest too abrupt a break with the T'zu Choû tradition as practiced at Sukhothai, but the great production of celadon-like monochromes at Sawankalok is a different matter, and there is nothing in the T'zu Choû tradition or in the products of Sukhothai which can satisfactorily account for the sudden appearance of this type of pottery at Sawankalok. The monochromes of Sawankalok, which principally account for the fame of this pottery, bear a striking resemblance to the Chinese celadons of the famous kilns at Lung-ch'uan (龍泉) in Chekiang Province. Lung-ch'üan celadon was produced from the Sung period and for more than seven centuries, until it was finally eclipsed by the famous Ming blue and white, was China's export pottery par excellence.

It is very likely, therefore, that by the middle of the 14th century, if not earlier, Lung-ch'üan celadon was finding its way into Siam to the point where it excited the interest of the Siamese and aroused their desire to produce this unusual ware, as a result of which arrangements were made during some tribute mission to China for the procurement of Lung-ch'üan potters. In this connection it is perhaps significant that while he was with the Yüan mission at Angkor in 1296-97, Chou Ta-kwan found that among the Chinese products which the Khmer at this time particularly desired were "green porcelains" (that is, celadons). It appears, therefore, that the Khmer were familiar with Chinese celadon, and it is quite possible even at this early date that these wares had also reached Sukhothai where they aroused the interest of the Siamese.

As we shall presently see, there is considerable evidence that Sawankalok ware was produced principally for export, which in turn suggests that the Lung-ch'üan potters may have been brought to Sawankalok for the specific purpose of developing a ware suitable for the great Asiatic trade in celadon.

In any event, I believe we should now take into account the possibility that a second group of Chinese potters came to Siam, possibly from Lung-ch'üan, some years after King Rāma Khamhêng

Sawankalok Vessels with Celadon-like Glaze and  
Incised Underglaze Decoration



A.



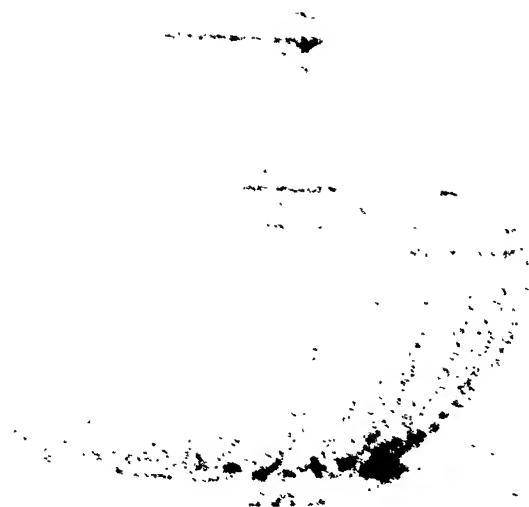
B.



C.



D.



E.

A, B, C, D. From the collection of Mr. Lek Viriyaphand.  
E. From the author's collection.



A.



B.

A. Covered vessel with yellowish-grey glaze decorated with darker grey and olive green designs.

( From the author's collection )

B. Pot with greyish-green glaze and dark grey decoration.

( From the collection of Mr. Lek Viriyaphand )

presumably brought the first group from T'zu Choû, and that it may very likely have been reasons of trade which led to this development. Very little Sukhothai ware was apparently exported, whereas Sawankalok pottery was sent to widely scattered parts of Asia. The reason for this is obvious: it could be sold as celadon—albeit an inferior grade—and celadon was the ware in greatest demand. What probably happened was something like this: There was no real demand or market outside of the locality for the Sukhothai wares made in the T'zu Chou tradition. A new group of Chinese potters was brought to Siam, possibly from Lung-ch'uan, familiar with the manufacture of celadons, and were settled in Sawankalok where materials were available for making the celadon-like glazes. Meanwhile, the Sukhothai potters continued their work, but instead of attempting to produce glazed pottery utensils for which there was apparently no great market or demand, devoted their energies to making those fanciful end tiles and other glazed and decorated temple ornaments which came into vogue among the Siamese during the Sukhothai period. The amount of this glazed temple construction material produced at Sukhothai was prodigious, but none of it was exported. On the other hand, great quantities of Sawankalok pottery were produced and there is abundant evidence that much if not most of it went into the Asiatic pottery trade.

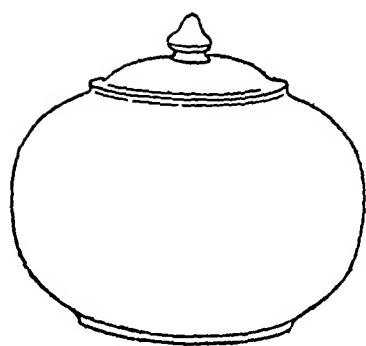
The products of the Sukhothai kilns were principally water jars, bowls and dishes, along with great quantities of the decorated temple materials mentioned above. Most Sawankalok ware was smaller and more delicate. Large water jars, bowls and plates are common, but more characteristic are small containers of various shapes many of which are in plain monochrome. One type of container which has always struck my fancy is in the shape of a persimmon, the little handle of the lid representing the stem of the fruit. Significantly enough, the persimmon does not grow in Siam and this shape was undoubtedly of Chinese origin. Japanese connoisseurs of Sawankalok classify this peculiar form as *kaki-no-te* (柿手), the persimmon type.

Other characteristic Sawankalok vessels are small water bottles, pitchers, ewers, cups, vases, and a great variety of small covered vessels presumably for holding betel-chewing ingredients, cosmetics or medicines. Many Sawankalok pieces were produced in typical Indian and Near Eastern shapes like the famous narghili bottles with their mammiform spouts, which provide further evidence that this ware was largely for export. One unique type of Sawankalok ware which may well have been made exclusively for Siamese consumption were the small animal and human figurines which were probably used as votive offerings or for purposes of sorcery.

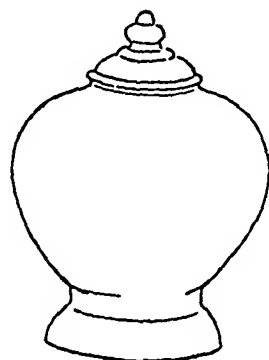
### Duration of Pottery Production at Sawankalok

It is not clear just how long the Sawankalok kilns continued in operation. Strange to say, very few samples of this ware have survived today as heirlooms in the possession of Siamese families. I have often noted this singular fact when visiting the homes of upper-class Thai who generally have treasured collections of Bencharong and other Chinese export wares but seldom if ever a single piece of Sawankalok. This is perhaps no cause for wonder in view of the antiquity of this ware, its comparatively brief period of production and the series of destructive wars among the Thai kingdoms and with the Khmer and Burmese. Moreover, Buddhism with its great emphasis upon the transitory nature of our existence has tended to discourage the accumulation and passing on of earthly possessions. Consequently, most of the Sawankalok now in the hands of Thai as well as foreign collectors was unearthed in recent times at the kiln sites, and so far as I know none of this ware has been found among the ruins of Ayuthia and other cities in contrast with the many fragments of Chinese pottery, all of which would indicate that Sawankalok was not prized as heirlooms or even used to any great extent as ordinary household ware. Consequently, we may assume that much if not most of the pottery produced at Sawankalok was intended for the export trade. In this connection, it is significant that a large amount of the pottery unearthed at the kiln sites is known in the trade as wasters—damaged or imperfectly fired pieces which were not suitable for the market. There is also evidence that

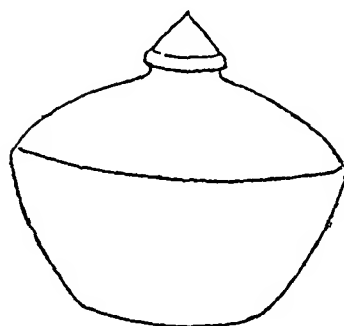
# Types of Sawankalok Pottery made Principally for Domestic Use



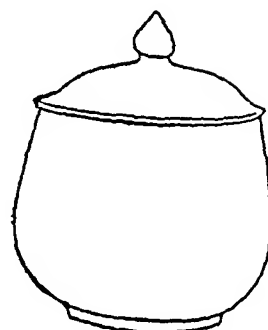
A.



B.



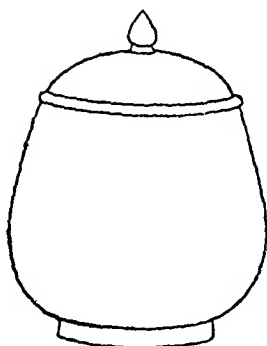
C.



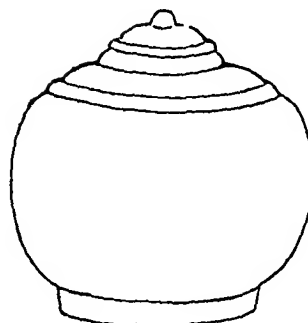
D.



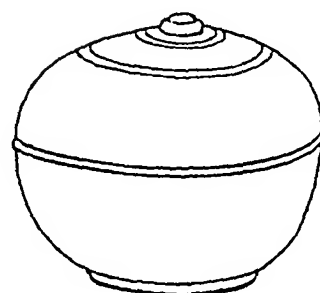
E.



F.



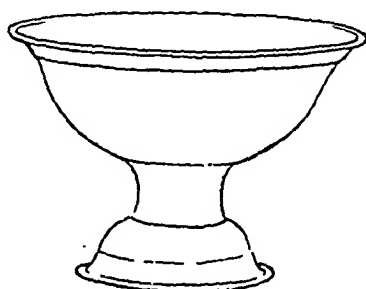
G.



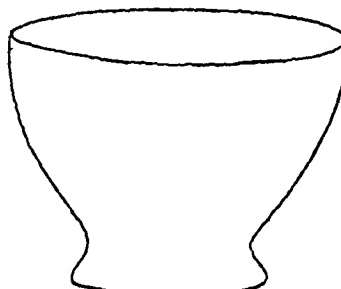
H.



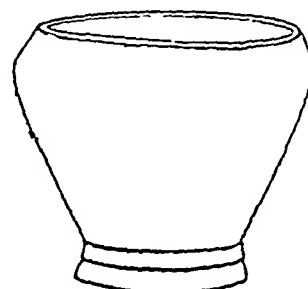
I.



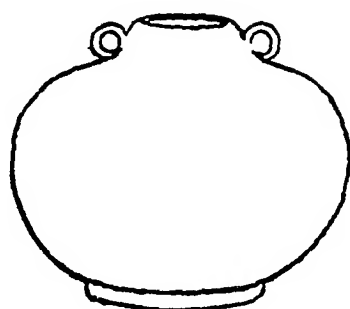
J.



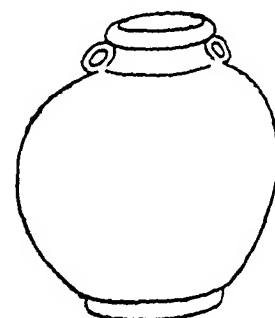
K.



L.



N.



O.

M.

A., B., C., D., E., F., G., H., I. Various types of Covered Vessels.  
J. Stand. K., L. Bowls or Spittoons. M., N., O. Vases with "ears".

the Sawankalok potters were endeavoring to meet the demand for cheap export wares and accordingly attempted to increase their output without devoting much attention to technical proficiency, just as the provincial kilns of Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung turned out great quantities of cheap and often shoddy goods for the export trade.

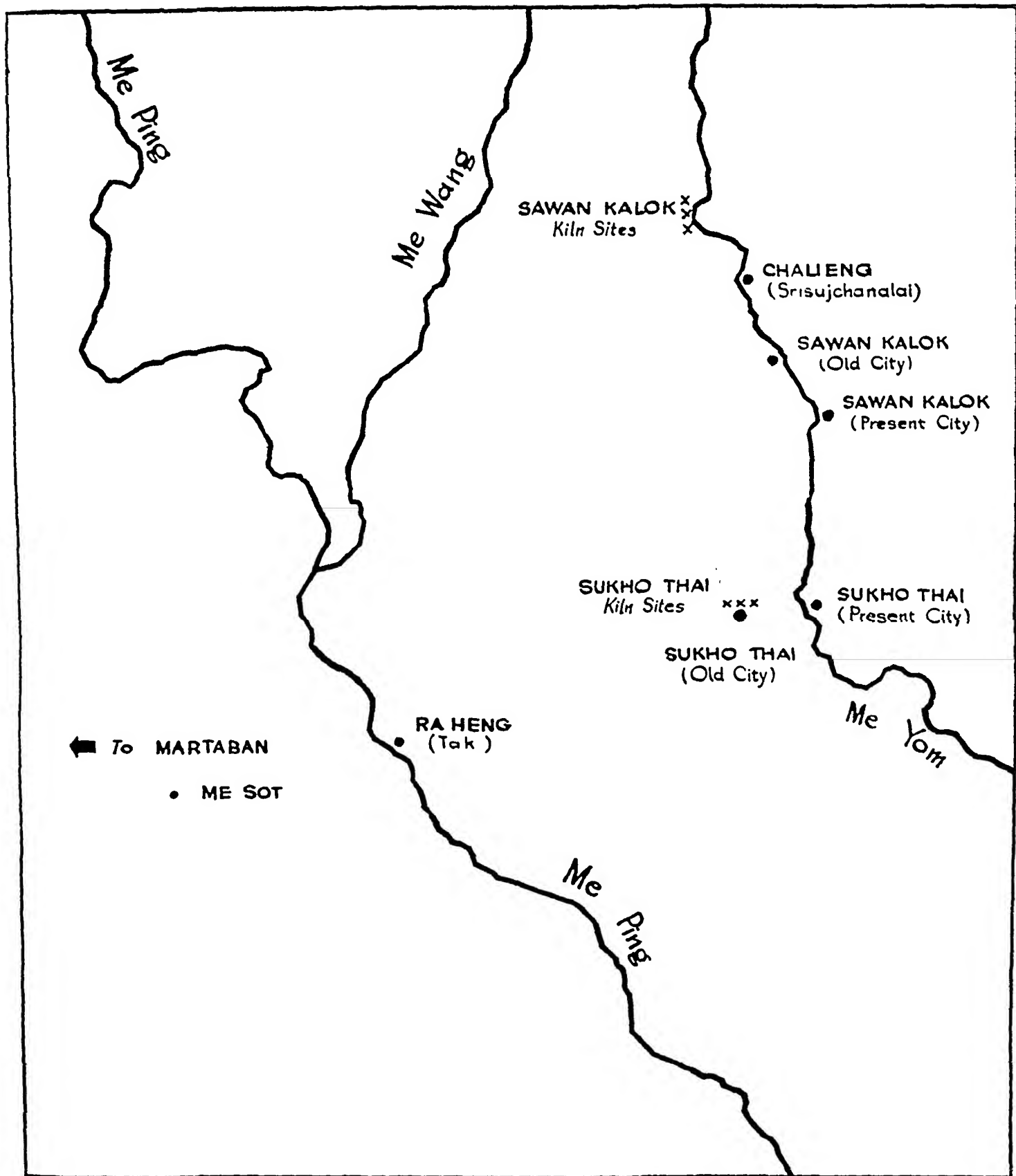
While Sawankalok ware has a strange, simple beauty, from the technical standpoint it cannot compare with the celadons of Lung-ch'üan or even with many of the cheaper export wares of the contemporary Chinese private kilns. It was often cracked or damaged in the firing and there are frequently imperfections in the glaze. Moreover, the Sawankalok potters used a long horizontal type of kiln in which the heat was often unevenly distributed, and it is only too evident that some of these kilns were poorly constructed. They often collapsed during the firing and their contents, being damaged beyond repair, were never removed until the collapsed kilns were excavated in modern times, revealing bent and twisted pots or several vessels fused together by their molten glaze. There are also examples of kilns which were apparently abandoned before the pottery could be removed after firing, suggesting the hasty flight of the potters because of invasion or some other disaster, a point we shall presently consider in attempting to determine the period at which pottery production ceased at Sawankalok.

We should not, of course, judge all Sawankalok by the damaged or inferior samples which have been discovered in collapsed or abandoned kilns, but it is nevertheless a fact that many pieces of Sawankalok which were exported (having presumably been considered suitable for the market) were imperfect. For example, the *Te Kagami* (手鑑), a Japanese pottery manual compiled early in the 17th century, notes that much of this ware which was known to the Japanese as Sonkoroku was damaged or improperly fired. The same can be said, however, of much of the contemporary Chinese pottery, especially those wares made for export, for as Soame Jenyns has pointed out "Ming vessels were often distorted in the kiln by shrinkage but do not seem to have been rejected on this account, as they would have been under the next dynasty."



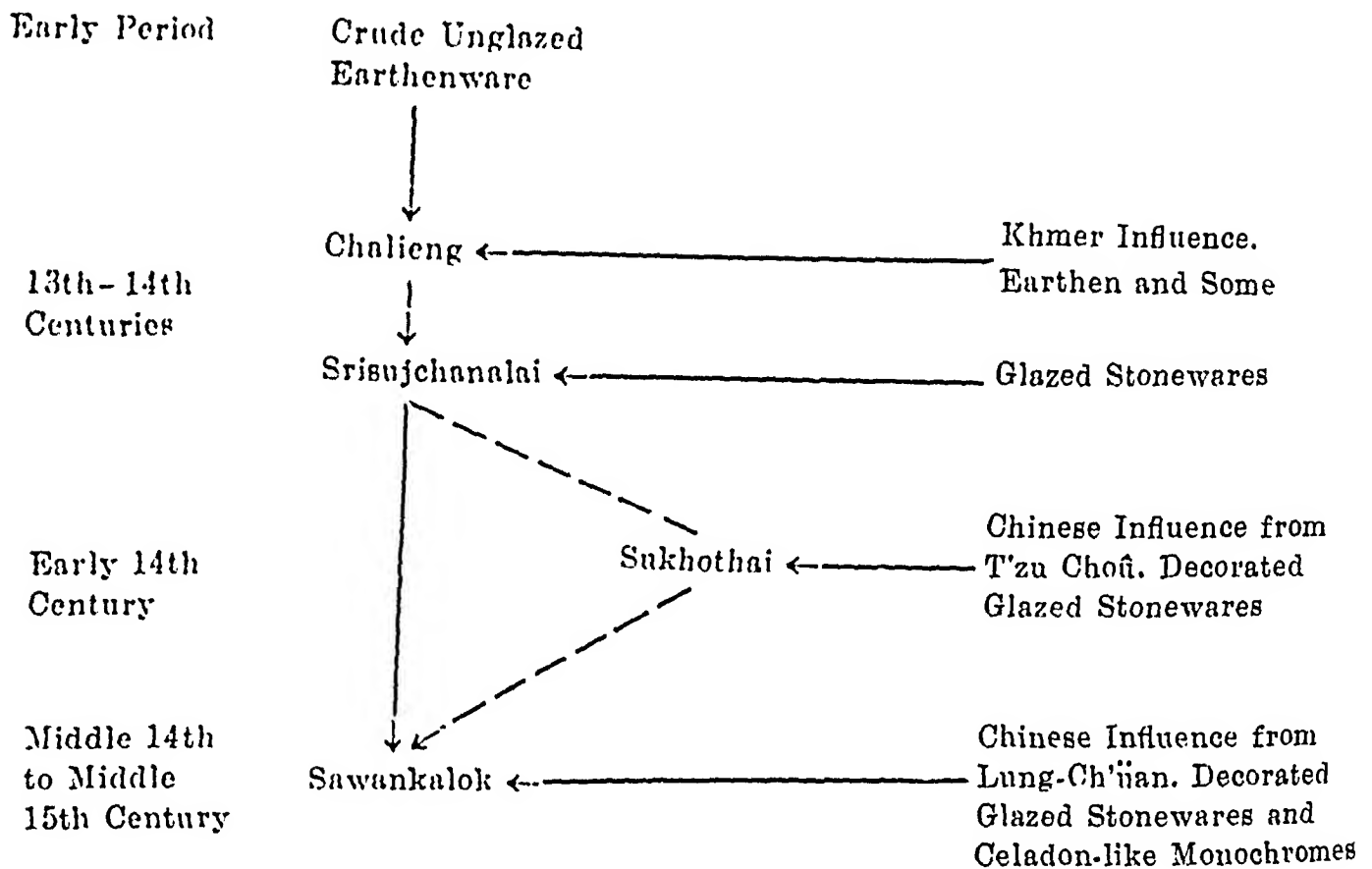
In this connection, an American pottery expert, Harding Black, made an interesting experiment with two pieces of Sawankalok and in June 1953 published his findings in *The Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin*. He re-fired two bowls from the collection of Edwin L. Neville, former United States Minister to Siam. As a result, their pale greenish-grey glaze changed to a typical celadon green. But something even more remarkable occurred which gives this unusual experiment a touch of historical drama. As if by magic, there appeared on one of the bowls as a result of the second firing an incised underglaze lotus decoration which had remained invisible over the centuries.

There has been considerable disagreement as to just how long Sawankalok pottery was produced, and it has generally been held that production continued until well into the 16th century if not later. Both Reginald le May and Otley Beyer are of the opinion that production ceased during the 16th century, but as le May has cautiously noted, "we shall probably never know definitely." I am inclined to believe, however, that production came to an end, at least at the Sawankalok sites, in the 15th century. During most of this period Sawankalok occupied a precarious position in the series of wars waged by the Siamese of Ayuthia with the kingdoms of Chiengmai and Luang Prabang. Sawankalok was under attack a number of times and a great part of the town was destroyed in 1460 and again in 1464. Some years earlier a turn-coat governor deserted to Chiengmai and reportedly took most of the population with him. It was probably because of circumstances like these that abandoned kilns have been found at Sawankalok filled with unfinished pottery; the potters either fled because of invasion or were forcibly evacuated. Accordingly, I believe Giga Tetsuji (儀峨徹二), one of the foremost Japanese authorities on Sawankalok ware, may be correct in concluding that production ceased because the potters became so dispersed that it was impossible to hold the industry together. Many of them probably went to Chiengmai where they endeavored to carry on their craft. For example, Giga found one potter in Chiengmai who was still making a ware with a greyish-green glaze which so closely resembled Sawankalok that it was often sold in Bangkok's famous Nakorn



Sketch Map of Sukhothai—Sawankalok Area

## EVOLUTION OF THAI POTTERY



Kasem district as the genuine article by unwitting or unscrupulous dealers. Moreover, Giga found that this Chiengmai potter employed the same type of kiln used by the potters at Sukhothai and Sawankalok; he also made animal figurines similar to the Sawankalok pieces, and his spatula work had the same characteristics. It was at his kiln that there had been produced some generations before the famous pottery columns with their celadon-like glaze which until recently adorned the entrance to Wat Phra Dhātū, the mountain temple on Doi Suthep. Giga was accordingly inclined to believe that this Chiengmai potter was a descendent of some ceramic artisan of Sawankalok.

In addition to the disruption of the pottery industry at Sawankalok as the result of wars and other disasters, there was also a great expansion of the Chinese pottery trade during the 15th century against which it would probably have been difficult for the small-scale operators of Siam to have competed. Moreover, we must take into account technical and artistic developments in the Chinese ceramic field which undoubtedly brought about the remarkable change of taste among consumers of pottery throughout Asia. By the 15th century the Chinese had perfected the technique of underglaze blue ware to the point where it was assuming a major position in their export trade. Faced by these various difficulties—the disruption of their industry at home and increased Chinese production of new ceramic lines enjoying great popularity—it is only too obvious that the Thai would have been unable to compete with the Chinese in the Asiatic pottery market.

There is further evidence that Sawankalok ware was no longer being produced in the 16th century or was even represented in the pottery trade from the fact that there are no references to it in contemporary historical records. Before the close of the 16th century Japanese traders and adventurers had begun to settle in that unique international community which had grown up outside the walls of Ayuthia. Yet in all the Japanese records of the late 16th and 17th centuries no mention is made whatever of Siamese pottery or any trade therein.

By the beginning of the 17th century Japanese trade with Siam had grown to substantial proportions and was largely in the hands of merchants who received special licenses from the Shogunate, the famous Red Seal Documents, or *Shuinjō* (朱印狀). From the early part of the Keichō (慶長) era (1596-1614) until the Japanese were prohibited from going abroad by the decrees of 1638, the so-called *Shuinsen* (朱印船), or Red Seal Ships, made some 182 voyages for which records exist. Of this total, 37 licenses were issued to ships making trading expeditions to Siam, 13 to Annam, 26 to Champa, 11 to Tongking, 23 to Cambodia and 5 to Pattani. In his *Shuinsen Bōeki Shi* (朱印船貿易史), History of the Trade of the Red Seal Ships, Kawajima Motojirō (川島元次郎) offers no indication that the Japanese ever obtained any ceramic wares during these voyages to Siam. The records of the voyages give long lists of the cargoes involved in which Siamese pottery is conspicuous by its absence. The *Tsūkō Ichiran* (通航一覽), a massive compilation of documents and records pertaining to Japan's foreign trade and relations from the Eiroku (永祿) era (1558-1569) to the Bunsei (文政) era (1818-1829), compiled under orders of the Shogunate in the 6th year of the Kaei (嘉永) era (1853), contains sections on Japanese relations with Siam and other Southeast Asian countries, as well as records of all Siamese trading vessels which were known to have come to Japanese ports. Nowhere in this large compilation is there a reference to any shipments of Siamese pottery either from Siam or from neighboring countries. On the contrary, there are occasional references to pottery reaching Japan from other sources and to pottery and porcelain being carried to Siam in Japanese ships. No references to a trade in Siamese pottery are to be found in Iwao Seiichi's (岩生成一) *Nanyō Nihonmachi no Kenkyū* (南洋日本町之研究), A Study of Japanese Communities in the Southern Regions, and the comprehensive *Jūshichi Seiki ni okeru Nissha Kankei* (十七世紀に於ける日暹關係), Japanese-Siamese Relations in the 17th Century, which was compiled in 1934 by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the supervision of the Ministry's Siamese specialist Gunji Kiichi (郡司喜一). Besides using all relevant European sources on 17th

been of Chinese origin. Hence, Volker concludes that "the export of Sawankalok, the only ware on a par with Chinese stoneware, came to a full stop in 1460, when the town of Sawankalok was taken by hostile northern forces; the potters were dispersed, and many of the kilns were left in a hurry with their contents still intact, to be excavated only in the 20th century." Nor could Volker find evidence of a pottery industry of any kind at Ayuthia, for with a Dutch East India Company Factory established there, any locally-made wares of export standing would certainly have come to the attention of these energetic traders. The only wares the Dutch found at Ayuthia were Chinese and later Japanese porcelains, much of which was imported by the king's merchant marine both for local use and re-export. Again, the writings of Jeremias van Vliet, who was in Ayuthia in 1639, make no mention of Siamese pottery. On the basis of these various pieces of evidence, I believe we can discard any belief that Sawankalok pottery was produced in the 17th century, while no available evidence supports the view that it was produced

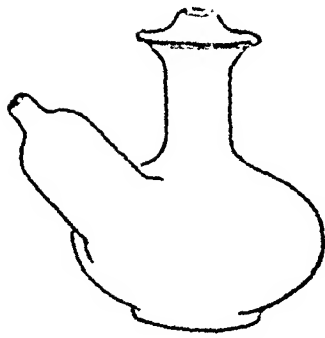
in the 16th century. It would appear that this ware was made for only a comparatively short period, from about the middle of the 14th century until about the middle of the 15th century.

### Export of Sawankalok Ware

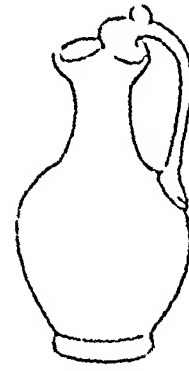
There is little evidence that Sukhothai pottery was ever made for export, although a few pieces have been found in Java and elsewhere. The first export of wares from Sawankalok was probably by way of Martaban. This port was in fact seized from the Peguans by King Rāma Khamhâng around the beginning of the 14th century along with the Tenasserim area. Martaban was occupied on and off by the Siamese until the beginning of the 15th century when it fell to the Burmese who held it continuously thereafter. During this period Martaban became an important commercial entrepôt for traders from India and the Near East. As an outlet for Siam's products, however, Martaban suffered two disadvantages: the long and difficult overland route from north-central Siam, and the fact that the port was only in Siamese possession periodically until it was permanently lost to the Burmese early in the 15th century. Consequently, as we shall presently see, the port of Mergui in the Tenasserim area, which was continually held by the Siamese from King Rāma Khamhâng's time, was to assume a greater importance in the trade of Siam. The trade route from Sawankalok to Martaban was undoubtedly by way of Raheng (Tak) and Mesot, the Siamese using elephant trains for transport.

Unless Thai distaste for commercial enterprise is a more recently acquired characteristic, it was probably the Chinese potters or Chinese and other foreign traders who first promoted the export of the products of the Sawankalok kilns. Consequently, there may have been, as noted above, strong commercial reasons for the appearance of Lung-ch'üan potters in Siam. They may well have been brought there for the specific purpose of producing a type of ware which would be saleable in the pottery markets of India and the Near East.

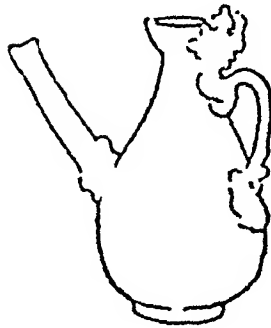
# Some Types of Sawankalok Export Wares



A.



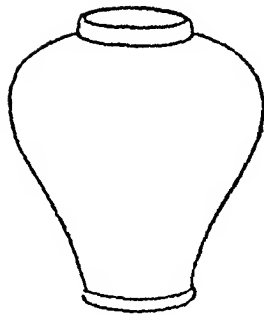
B.



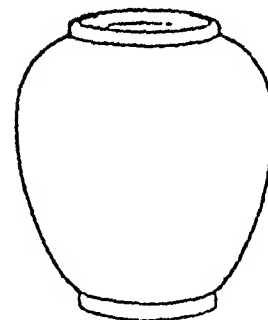
C.



D.



E.



F.

A. Narghili bottle.      B., C. Ewers.      D., E. Vases.  
F. Vase of type sought by Japanese for use as a tea caddy.



At this period (the middle of the 14th century) China was experiencing troubled times as a result of the conflicts which overthrew the Yüan dynasty and finally brought the Ming to power in 1368. This was not only a period of wars but also one of famines, plagues, locusts, earthquakes and floods and consequent social unrest. The Ming Dynasty was no sooner established when the Japanese pirate fleets of the dreaded *wakō* (倭寇) began their large-scale raids along the China coast which seriously interfered with trade and shipping. Lung-ch'üan and the other famous Sung kilns were situated principally in Kiangsi, Chekiang and Fukien, the districts most exposed to *wakō* depredations. Many of these kilns had suffered during the strife attending the Mongol conquest and again during the subsequent liberation by the Ming, while before the end of the Yüan period a rival pottery center had begun to develop at Ching-tê Chên (景德鎮) which eventually was to dominate the export trade with its underglaze blue and white wares which largely took the place of celadon in popular taste throughout the Asiatic markets. Early in the Ming period, the Lung-ch'üan potters were compelled to move to Ch'u Chou (株州) where they were able, however, to continue producing their famous celadon in the face of rising blue and white competition until almost the end of the Ming period.

It is possible, therefore, that some of the Lung-ch'üan potters may have moved to Siam during this troubled period around the middle of the 14th century in search of better opportunities as well as in response to the desire of the Siamese for additional Chinese potters to supplement the original company brought to Siam by King Rāma Khamhêng. Although no evidence is available, the Arab and Indian traders may also have been instrumental in such a move. Having seen and possibly handled samples of the wares produced at Sukhothai, they may have endeavored to promote the production of the more saleable celadon lines in Siam, a country more accessible to the Indian markets and at the same time not subject to the vicissitudes which were then disrupting the economy of China. This is conjectural, of course, but it is by no means outside the realm of possibility. For example, the famous Kirman wares of Persia offer a case in point. Shah Abbas I thought it possible to develop

an export pottery trade which could compete successfully with China in the blue and white market in Europe. Accordingly, about the middle of the 17th century, he brought some three hundred Chinese potters to Persia where they began to produce Chinese-style porcelains which one contemporary European remarked were "difficult to distinguish from the Chinese wares". As a result of the disturbed conditions in China the kilns at Ching-tê Chên were virtually out of operation between 1673 and 1681, and during this period the Dutch East India Company made strenuous efforts to find satisfactory substitutes for Chinese wares among the Kirman products as well as those of Tongking and Japan. It is not altogether impossible, therefore, that the production of celadon-like wares at Sawankalok may have been in response to a demand for this type of pottery which could not be satisfactorily met because of difficulties at the celadon production centers in China.

### The Chinese Ceramic Trade

The Asiatic trade in Chinese ceramics is a fascinating story of international commerce and cultural diffusion. There is evidence that Chinese pottery was being exported early in the T'ang period, the bulk of this trade probably being in the hands of Indians and Arabs who not only had settlements in the port cities on the southeast coast but in the T'ang capital at Chang An as well. The Indian and Arab traders at Canton (Khanfu) and Ch'uan-chou (the Zaytun of Marco Polo) dealt principally in silk and the export wares of the provincial kilns. The Arab merchant Suleyman in an account dated 851 gives a description of this trade which during the Southern Sung period reached such proportions that it was made a government monopoly. In the middle of the 14th century the great Arab traveller Ibn Battuta visited Canton and also left a description of the Arab pottery trade there. At that time the Arab ships took Chinese wares principally to India and the Arabian ports, from whence they were trans-shipped to other parts of the Near East. From an early period the Chinese also carried some of their wares to Japan, the Philippines, Borneo, Java and Sumatra. At Palembang there was a large commercial entrepôt where these goods

were exchanged for the products of India and the Near East. Some pottery was also shipped overland from China by the old silk route across Asia. By the Ming period, however, there arose such a strong demand for Chinese ceramics throughout Asia that the Chinese began to participate in this trade on a much larger scale. One significant as well as picturesque result was the series of spectacular maritime expeditions undertaken on orders of the Emperor Yung-Lo (永樂) by the Mohammedan court eunuch Cheng Hô (鄭和) who held the rank of admiral. His expeditions not only visited Champa, Siam and Java, but India, Persia and Arabia and possibly the east coast of Africa, one curious by-product of which was the bringing of the first live giraffe to China. These voyages have been described by J.J.L. Duyvendak in his engaging monograph *China's Discovery of Africa* and in his brilliant article in *T'oung Pao*. One important result of Cheng Hô's voyages was the re-establishment of tributary relations with Sumatra, for among the subsequent tribute goods were much-needed supplies of cobalt which the Chinese used for making the underglaze blue of their famous Ming wares.

The widespread dissemination of Chinese ceramics throughout Asia from as early as the T'ang period down into the Ming period is an almost unbelievable story. White T'ang pieces were being copied in Persia as early as the 9th century, long before the Mongol Hulāgu brought Chinese potters to Tabriz, and Ting glazes and shapes were being imitated by Persian potters in the 12th century. By the following century the Persians were using the same types of enamel glazes developed by the Chinese. Sung fragments have been unearthed at Samarra, the temporary residence of the Caliphs of Baghdad, destroyed in the 9th century, and similar shards have been found in excavations at Fostat near Cairo. There is a record of a shipment of forty pieces of celadon from Egypt to Damascus in 1170. Ming blue and white shards were found at Hama, a city in northern Syria destroyed by Timur in 1401, and fragments of celadon and other Chinese wares have been unearthed at various sites in Persia, India and even at Mombasa and Zanzibar. It would almost

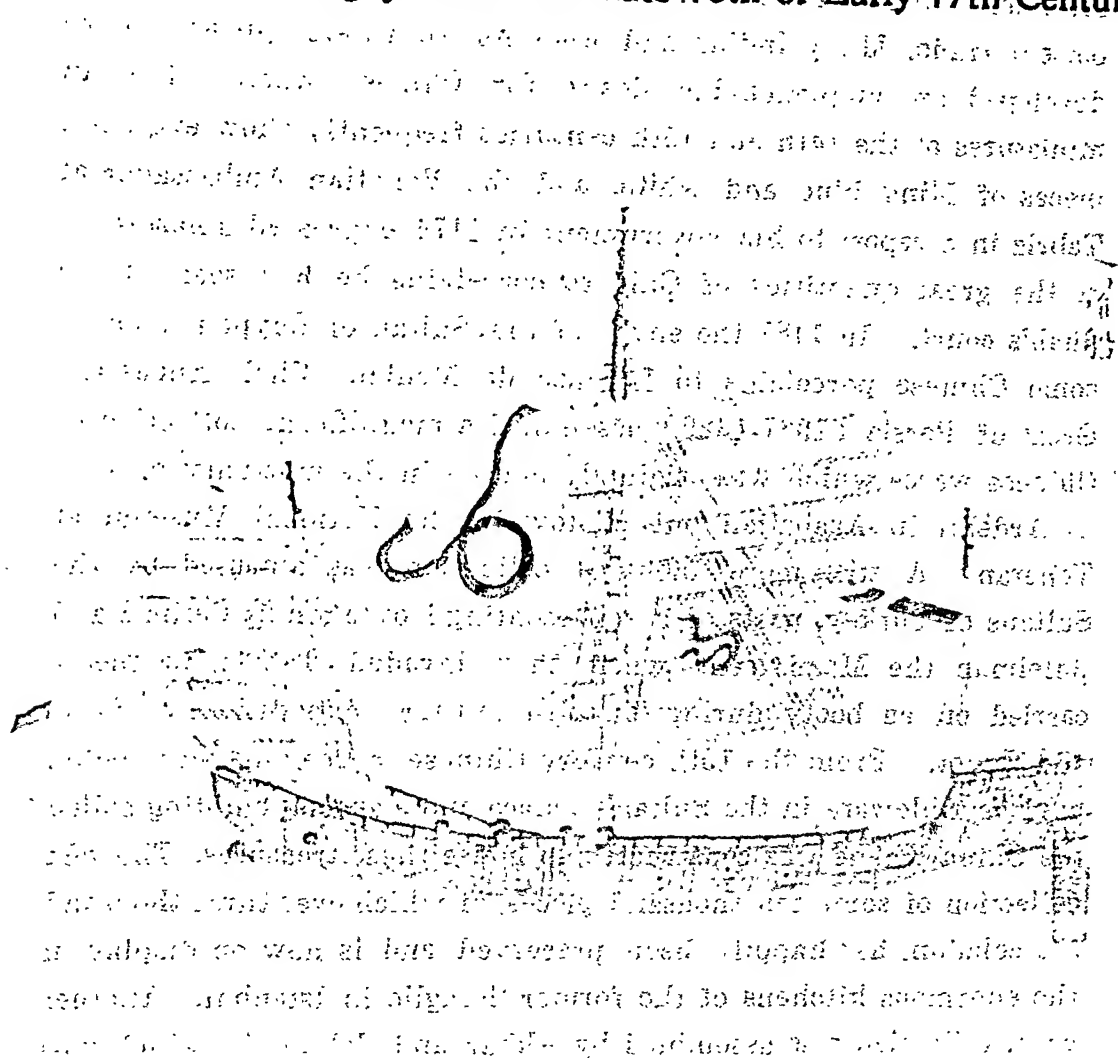
seem unnecessary to add that celadon, Ming blue and white and other Chinese wares have been found in considerable quantities throughout Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia, Malaya, Borneo, Siam and the Philippines.

It was, of course, the great overseas demand for Chinese ceramics which accounts for this remarkable expansion in China's pottery trade. Many Indian and other Asiatic rulers appear to have developed an unquenchable desire for Chinese wares. Persian miniatures of the 14th and 15th centuries frequently show exquisite pieces of Ming blue and white, and the Venetian Ambassador at Tabriz in a report to his government in 1474 expressed amazement at the great quantities of Chinese porcelains he had seen at the Shah's court. In 1487 the envoy of the Sultan of Egypt presented some Chinese porcelains to Lorenzo de Medici. Shah Abbas the Great of Persia (1587-1629) assembled a magnificent collection of Chinese wares which was originally housed in the mortuary mosque at Ardebil in Azabaijan but is now in the National Museum at Toheran. A still more fabulous collection was amassed by the Sultans of Turkey, parts of it representing loot taken by Selim I and Suleiman the Magnificent when they invaded Tabriz, or pieces carried off as booty during Turkish military expeditions to Syria and Egypt. From the 15th century Chinese porcelains were being used as tableware in the Sultan's palace and a special building called the China Khane was constructed to house these treasures. The vast collection of some ten thousand pieces, of which over three thousand are celadon, has happily been preserved and is now on display in the enormous kitchens of the former Seraglio in Istanbul. Another great collection was assembled by Akbar and Jehanajir, which was kept in the Mogul Fort at Agra until it was regrettably destroyed by the Mahrattas in 1771.

### The Rôle of Siam in the Pottery Trade

The export wares of China were carried to India by way of Java and Sumatra, the ships often touching en route at the Philippines, Borneo, Celebes and the Moluccas, which explains the discovery of so many pieces of old Chinese pottery in

## A Siamese Trading Junk of the Late 16th or Early 17th Century



From the *Karabune E-maki* (唐船會卷), An Album of Foreign Ships, a two-volume manuscript scroll in the Nagasaki Provincial Library. The above picture was reproduced in *Nompo Hakai Kobunken Zuroku* (南方渡海古文獻圖録), An Album of Old Documents Pertaining to Navigation in the Southern Regions, compiled by the Ōsaka Provincial Library and published by the Kobayashi Shashin Seihanjo, Kyōto, 1943.

those islands. On these long voyages the small trading junks often encountered fatal storms or were exposed to attacks by pirates lurking among the islands and especially in the Straits of Malacca. Until the advent of the Portuguese with their gunnery skill and their superior types of vessels with heavier armament, the pirates of the Malacca Straits were a formidable and traditional obstacle. Even as early as the 5th century these pirates presented a problem, as the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa-hsien, who travelled overland from China to India and then returned by sea via Ceylon and Java in 399-414 A.D., has so graphically described. Consequently, many of the Chinese junks and other vessels began to prefer a less convenient but safer route over which to transport their precious cargoes. This lay from the South China ports along the coasts of Tongking, Annam, Champa, Cambodia and Siam, where at the capital at Ayuthia there developed from perhaps as early as the 14th century a great trading center which was in time to rival Palembang. Merchants from China and the various kingdoms of Southeast Asia as well as from such distant lands as India and Persia established themselves in individual settlements outside the walls of the Siamese city. In time this polyglot community was enlarged by traders and adventurers from Japan, Portugal, Holland, England and France.

At Ayuthia the silks and ceramics of China were exchanged for goods from Siam, India and other areas and were then trans-shipped either by junk or overland to Pramburi or Kuli on the western shore of the Gulf of Siam for transport by caravan across the narrow isthmus to Tenasserim and thence down-stream in small river boats to the port of Mergui. From this entrepôt the goods were loaded aboard Indian, Arab and later European ships for the great markets in India and the West. From Ayuthia there was also an important trade in Chinese and other goods with Pattani, Malacca and Java, while some of the merchandise which went to Mergui was also shipped to Achén in Sumatra.

While the great bulk of this trade consisted of Chinese products, including celadon and other wares, Siamese pottery also entered into the inventories and in the distant markets abroad.

tedly lost its indentify and was sold as Chinese goods. By this process the products of the Sawankalok kilns were carried in some quantities to India and possibly even as far west as Egypt, for the Fostat finds contained shards among the Chinese celadon fragments which are believed to be pieces of Sawankalok. But the various Asiatic dealers who frequented such trading centers as Martaban, Ayuthia and Mergui were, we may assume, shrewd fellows who were undoubtedly well aware that the products of Sawankalok could not be substituted for the superior celadon of China in any trade with the more discriminating customers of India and the Near East. It appears, therefore, that the principal markets for Sawankalok were among the less demanding peoples of Java, Borneo and the Philippines, for it is in these islands that the largest finds of Siamese ware have been discovered outside the kiln sites in Siam. In other words, Sawankalok pottery, being inferior in quality to Chinese celadon, was shipped to those parts of the East where there were suitable markets for what were regarded as second-grade goods. The same practical considerations we know governed the export of all ceramics from China, the finer wares going to India and the Near East, while the coarse, crude potteries were shipped to Java, Borneo and the Philippines.

### The Demand for Large Water Jars and the Martaban Trade

There is one notable exception to this, however, namely, the great demand which prevailed throughout India and even in the Near East as well as throughout Southeast Asia for large jars for storing water, oil or wine. Many of these vessels were of crude workmanship, although we today have come to admire them for their artistic qualities. These jars were also in great demand by the Indian, Arab and early European traders who found them a convenient cargo, not only for storing fresh water for the long voyages but also as containers for other more valuable commodities. The provincial kilns of South China and those of Sawankalok endeavored to meet the great demand for these jars. As we noted, the products of Sawankalok were probably first exported by way of Martaban. For some reason the trade in





# Examples of Large Water Jars



A.



B.



C.



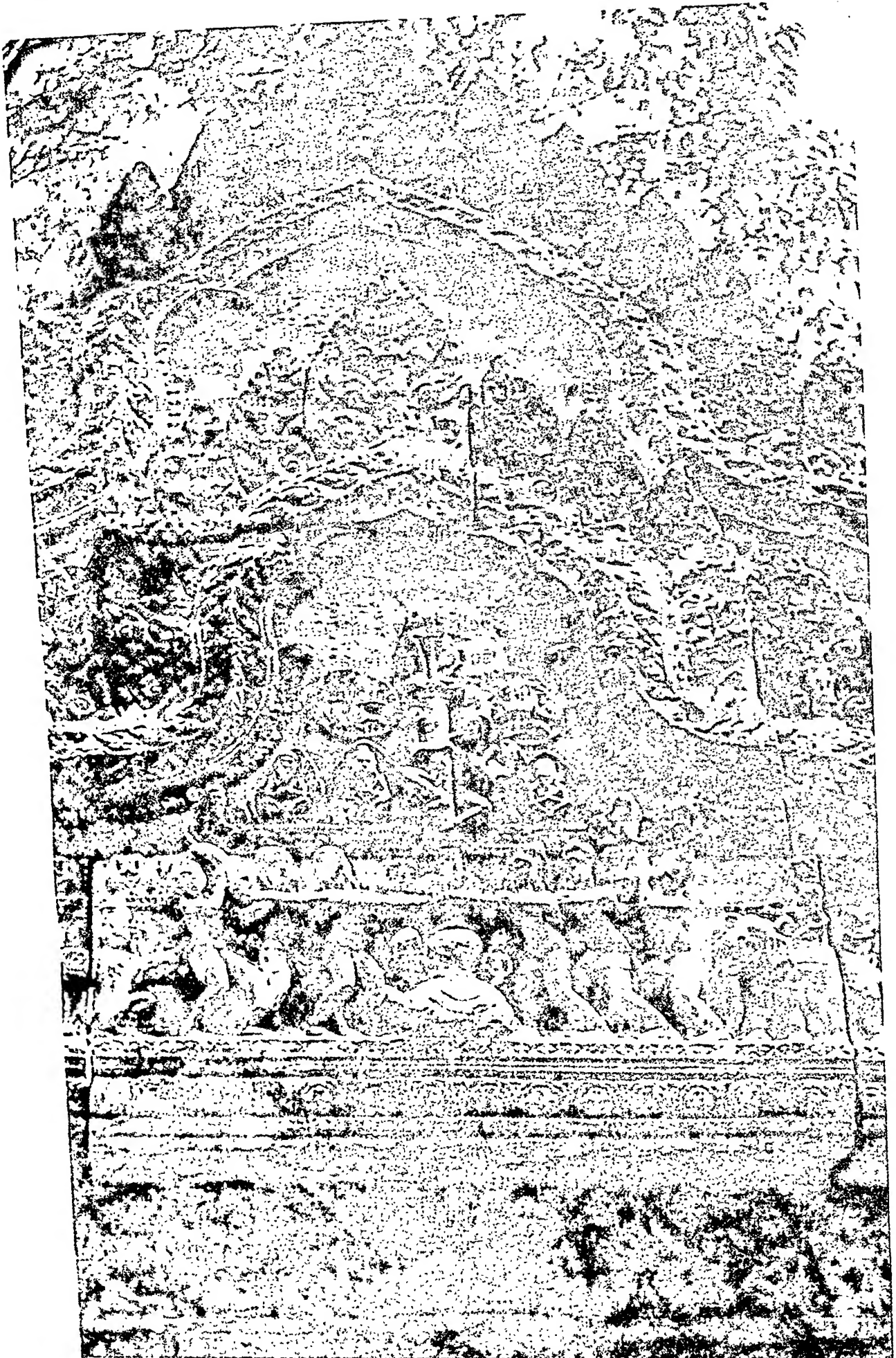
D.

A. B. Typical tall, narrow vessels of the Martaban type with "ears" for lashing coverings in place.

C. Large water jar of Sawankalok make.

D. Wide-mouth water vessel of Chinese make.

(From the collection of Mr. Lek Viriyaphand)



Relief depicting the Hindu Myth, the Churning of the Cosmic Ocean, on the south pediment of the second *Gopura* of the 12th century Khmer Temple at Khao Phra Vihāra, Srisaket Province, Northeast Thailand. The water vessel resembling some of the so-called Martaban jars.

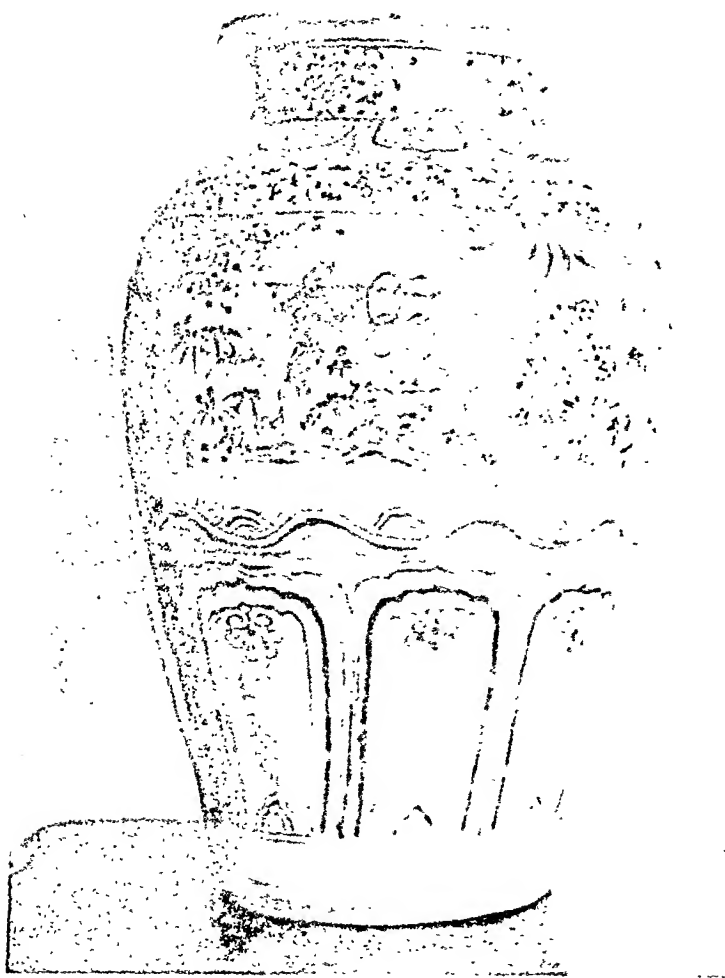
these large water jars, whether of Siamese or Chinese manufacture, eventually became centered at Martaban. Cumbersome as they were the Sawankalok jars were undoubtedly shipped overland to this port by elephant caravans, while some of the jars from China which reached Siam may have been shipped over the same route. It would appear, however, that most of the jars of Chinese make reached Martaban by sea. Since this trade became centered at Martaban, these large storage vessels became known as Martaban jars and the belief grew up that they were actually manufactured at the Peguan port. In India and elsewhere the term Martaban became variously corrupted into Martavan and Martabani as terms to designate any celadon or celadon-like ware, since considerable quantities of celadon *ghoree* dishes of Chinese origin were also exported from the Martaban pottery entrepôt or from other ports in the delta region of Burma, such as Syriam and Bassein. In India the term Martaban became so synonymous for any large glazed water vessel that the Chinese and Siamese jars were later copied in the 18th century by Muslim potters around Delhi who unabashedly marked their wares with the word "Martaban". Occasional references are made to Pegu jars of local manufacture which were exported from Martaban and other ports in lower Burma. So far as I have been able to ascertain, these were of unglazed earthenware and were made solely as containers for export commodities, much as the Siamese at Ayuthia in the 17th century employed similar vessels as containers for exporting oil, honey and other local products.

The best description of the so-called Martaban jars is to be found in Namme Ottema's *Handboek der Chineesche Ceramiek*. They have been found all the way from the Philippines to Egypt, and what look very much like such water jars can be seen in the 12th century reliefs at Prambanan and Borobudur in Java. At Khao Phra Vihāra, an 11th-12th century Khmer ruin on the Thai-Cambodian border, there is a remarkable relief depicting the Churning of the Ocean in which appears a jar having no resemblance to the typical Khmer vessels but looking very much like some of the Martaban water jars. These jars were described by Ibn

Hattula in the 14th century and by the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa in the 16th century. They are also mentioned occasionally in later accounts of Dutch and English travellers.

T. Volker in his *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company* offers evidence that the Chinese, possibly as early as the Sung period (long before Martaban was annexed to the Kingdom of Sukhothai), were shipping some of their celadon wares overland to the Peguan ports by way of Bhamo, a trade which continued long after the Siamese were forced out of Pegu. Bhamo was the western terminus for the mule teams which entered Burma from Yunnan. The course was not by the Shweli River but through the Taping River pass considerably to the north, joining the Bhamo-Myitkyina Road about twenty miles north of Bhamo. This old Burma-Yunnan mule track is still in use. Accordingly, there developed a sizeable Chinese trading community at Bhamo (which even today is predominantly a Chinese town). From Bhamo the Chinese products were shipped by boat down the Irrawaddy River to the delta area for trans-shipment to India and elsewhere. No doubt much of these goods found their way to Martaban because of its importance as a trading center.

As Volker notes, the Dutch East India Company became very interested in the Martaban trade and from 1635 to 1678 maintained factories in Pegu. In 1670 the Company actually made an attempt to open a post at Bhamo in order to tap this overland trade from China closer to its source. Because of fear of the Chinese, however, the Burmese refused to grant permission, for in 1659 the Shan and Kachin regions had been overrun by Yunnanese refugees fleeing before the Manchu forces, all of which was, as Volker reminds us, strangely analogous to certain events in that area in our own day. Nevertheless, the Company continued to maintain an interest in the Bhamo trade, and in 1675 the Company's representative in Pegu in a report to the Governor-General at Batavia called attention to the fact that the Chinese were coming annually to Bhamo with caravans of pack mules bearing *glaze* dishes for the Indian and Near Eastern markets.



An unusual jar of Chinese provenance but probably made for Thai order. The design around the central portion of the jar depicts a deer-hunting scene. The two very un-Chinese figures shown above are carrying pieces of venison suspended from a pole. The jar has a yellowish-gray glaze with the decoration in brown, green and red.

( From the collection of Mr. Lek Viriyaphand )



Similar scene of Siamese returning from a hunt carrying pieces of a deer's carcass. ( Photographed by the author in Amphur Koke Samrong, Changvad Lopburi )

## The Magic Appeal of Celadon

Aside from their artistic and utilitarian purposes, Chinese pottery and porcelain, particularly celadon wares and the celadon-like products of the Sawankalok kilns, came to possess for many peoples throughout Asia a strange, magical power. For example, it was a common belief in India and Persia that a celadon cup would crack or abruptly change color if it were filled with poisoned wine, and it was universally believed throughout South and Southeast Asia that celadon plates, known as *ghoree* dishes in India, had the power to detect the presence of poison in any food served upon them. Monarchs and officials throughout the East have traditionally been preoccupied with the danger of assassination by poison in consequence of which it is not difficult to understand the great demand which prevailed for such magical pottery. In China some rare porcelain and jade cups were also believed to possess magical powers, although the favorite safeguard against poisoned wine among the Chinese was the use of drinking vessels made of rhinoceros horn, while according to the Abbe Huc the Tibetans believed that bowls made of certain rare woods had the power to neutralize poisons. Nevertheless, the Chinese have traditionally regarded a rare or especially fine piece of pottery or porcelain with an almost superstitious awe, and it was customary for the owners of such treasures to keep them concealed with the greatest secrecy.

It was also held in many parts of the East that a medicine prepared in or taken from a celadon vessel or any antique piece of pottery or porcelain was more effective. This belief sometimes reached strange and for the collector unfortunate lengths, for among the Burmese and others old celadon and porcelain vessels were occasionally reduced to powder to make medicaments and elixirs. In southern Siam and among the Malays there was the similarly regrettable custom of filing the glaze off old vessels for use in the preparation of potions and philtres. Even with their deep veneration for pottery and porcelain the Chinese were not adverse to using it in the making of elixirs of immortality. For example, one old Taoist formula for such a concoction called for pulverized porcelain, along

with such appalling ingredients as cinnabar, alum, copper oxide and a dash of arsenic. We should have no cause for wonder that some of those who experimented with these elixirs often came to an abrupt end, but before passing judgment on such customs "it is salutary for us to realize," as Maurice Collis has written, "that there are persons who salute porcelains for reasons other than our own."

In his study of Chinese pottery in the Philippines Fay-Cooper Cole made some interesting discoveries concerning the magical powers attributed to old jars and vessels. Many Ming and Sawankalok pieces have been unearthed in the Philippine archipelago and in Borneo where large water vessels were frequently called Siam jars. They were highly regarded by the peoples of these islands, and those having exceptional powers were given names and grades of rank. The Sultan of Brunei was reputed to possess a magical jar which could speak to warn him of approaching danger. In the Philippines and elsewhere old Chinese jars were often used as burial urns, while mediums claimed to be able to communicate with departed spirits by the aid of old porcelain dishes. Jars were also kept about homes as talismanic pieces, and a man's wealth and social position was frequently measured by the number and magical character of the jars in his possession. Most owners of such vessels would only part with them as marriage dowries.

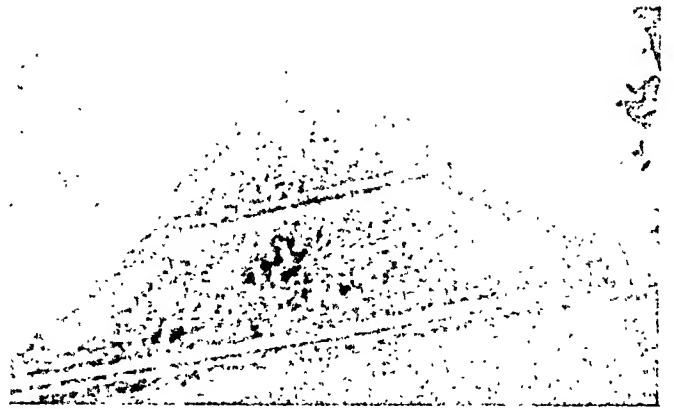
It was (and is) a common belief in many parts of Southeast Asia that antique jars serve as the abodes of spirits, and often when a farmer or woodsman by chance unearths such a vessel he immediately reburies it for fear of arousing the anger of the spirit residing within. Only the more courageous dares to take such a find home. Among devout Buddhists, however, one who accidentally discovers a buried jar can rely upon the power of the Enlightened One to afford him protection against evil or irate spirits. Accordingly, in some of the Buddhist countries unearthed vessels of this kind are often presented to temples. Some Thai unfortunately have a more cavalier way of dealing with spirits who happen to reside in old jars. When accidentally discovering a perfect or undamaged vessel, the farmer or woodsman may break a piece out of the lip or in some



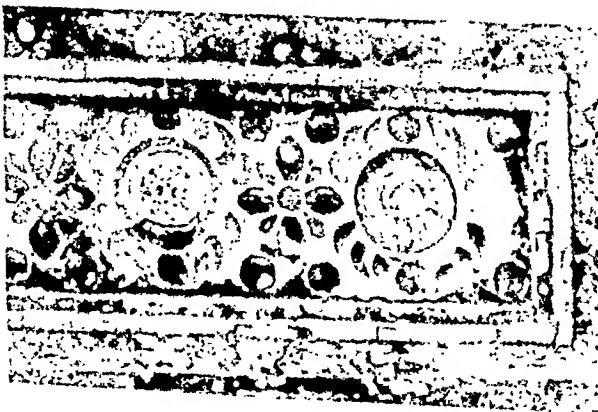
## Examples of the Curious Use of Chinese Dishes and Bowls as Architectural Ornaments



One of the gable ends of Wat Chamni Hattakarn (Wat Sam Ngam) near the Yose Bridge, Bangkok, lavishly decorated with bowls and dishes set in the plaster.



Chinese dishes and bowls used as gable ornaments at Wat Mai Chaivichit, Ayuthia.



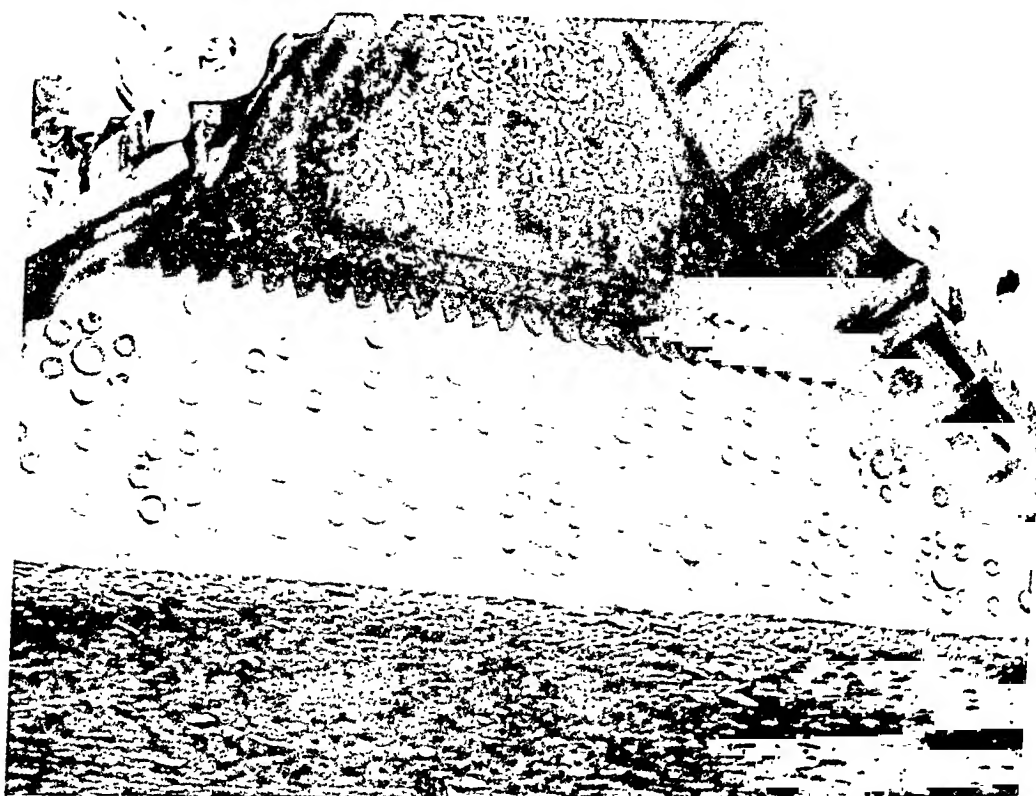
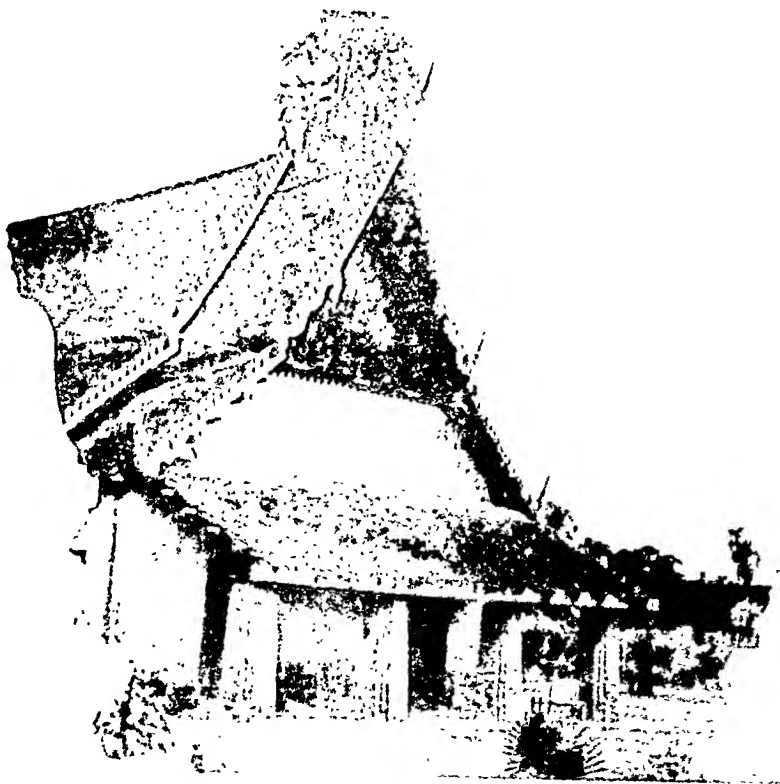
Small Chinese dishes and fragments of Chinese pottery used to ornament Wat Arun, Bangkok.



Chinese dishes set in the balustrade around the great *Phra Prang* of Wat Puthai Sawan, Ayuthia.

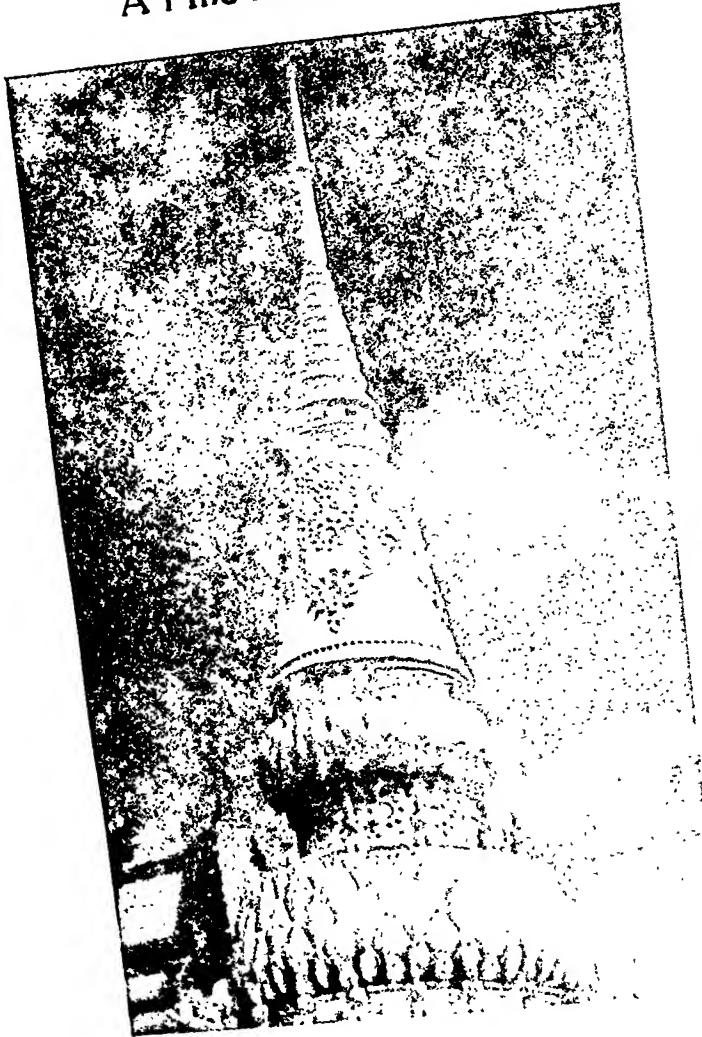


Use of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain as Building  
Ornaments at Wat Thai Chumpol, Sukhothai



( Photographed for the author by Dr. Pan Lauhabandhu )

A Fine Example of Pottery Used to Ornament a Pagoda



The Phra Chedi of Wat Paknam at Samut Prakarn lavishly ornamented with old Chinese dishes and bowls.



Detail of Phra Chedi at Wat Paknam showing pottery ornamentation on section of pagoda surrounded by Tephanom.

( Photographed by the Author )

equally deplorable manner ruin the pot or jar from the standpoint of the archaeologist or collector in the belief that by damaging an unbroken vessel it will be made so unattractive that the spirit will no longer care to use it as an abode and the discoverer can consequently carry it off with impunity. It is for this reason, I have been told, that one rarely if ever finds an undamaged piece of old pottery or porcelain in or around the home of a Thai farmer or woodsman.

In the Philippines, Borneo and other parts of Southeast Asia old Chinese jars are used by some peoples for brewing rice wine for their ceremonial drinking bouts. In his *A Dragon Apparent* Norman Lewis has given an interesting account of this custom as practiced by the Moi peoples of Indo-China who brew rice wine in sacred jars and drink the beverage by means of long hollow reeds. The Moi were also fond of using exceedingly large jars of the Martaban type as dwellings to house their tutelary spirits. In Northeast Thailand rice wine, called *chang* (elephant), is prepared in and consumed from pottery vessels in the same manner by the Phu Thai, while other Thai peoples in the Northeast and Central Siam make a similar beverage called *ūk* which is also brewed in and consumed from jars. The present-day Thai, however, seem to attach no particular importance to the age or supposedly magical properties of the jars, using any old vessel at hand including those in which *nam plā* (fish sauce) is packed for the market.

### Use of Ceramic Vessels as Architectural Ornaments

In Persia old celadon and other Chinese porcelain vessels were often set in the plaster on the walls of tombs and mortuary mosques, the purpose of which may have been more decorative than talismanic, although the idea of providing the deceased with the magical vessels he once cherished should not be excluded. Strange to say, the Thai have also used Chinese ceramics to ornament some of their *wats*, generally employing small fragments of porcelain somewhat in the manner of making a mosaic. Nevertheless, there are some notable examples of this practice in Bangkok, Ayuthia and elsewhere in Thailand where in addition to the use of mosaic-

like fragments whole dishes and bowls have been set in the plaster in the Persian manner. One striking example is Wat Arun in Dhonburi, its huge towers having a strange, porcellaneous quality from the countless pieces of Chinese bowls and whole dishes cemented to its surface. Other curious examples are Wat Phra Yurawongse, Wat Anongkaram, and several other temples in Dhonburi, Wat Lieb and Wat Sam Ngam in Bangkok, Wat Phra Mongkol Bawphit, Wat Mahā Dhātū and several other temples in Ayuthia, and Wat Bang Chang in Samut Songgram. It is interesting and perhaps significant that a number of these temples, notably Wat Pra Yurawongse and Wat Sam Ngam, have been connected with the famous Bunnag family, descendents of Sheik Ahmad, a Persian or Arab trader who settled in Ayuthia early in the 17th century. Similarly, Wat Bang Chang in Samut Songgram was founded by the Bang Chang family who were also descendents of Sheik Ahmad. It may be possible, therefore, that this unusual custom of using fragments of pottery and whole dishes as architectural decorations on temples in Siam was of Persian or Near Eastern origin. It was not a Chinese custom to employ porcelain wares in this manner, which would be considered a gross misuse of dishes and bowls from the purpose for which they were originally intended. The Chinese, it is true, used ceramic tiles in building construction but these were specially made for this purpose. There is also no indication of any earlier use of pottery and porcelain in this manner in Siam. While the kilns at Sukhothai turned out many dishes, bowls and other pottery utensils, they also manufactured roof and building ornaments, as was occasionally done at Sawankalok as well.

### Japanese Trade in Chinese and Siamese Pottery

In studying the part played by Sawankalok ware in the pottery trade of the East, the Philippine Islands assume an important position. Berthold Laufer believes that Chinese jars and other vessels were first brought to the Philippines as early as the Sung period, although the great bulk of Chinese pottery most likely reached the islands during the heyday of the Ming export

trade. Among the jars and vessels excavated in the Philippines by Professor Beyer were a great many pieces of Sawankalok ware; in fact, in the Visayan Islands Sawankalok pieces ran from twenty to forty percent of the total finds, indicating that there must have been large shipments of this ware from Siam to the Philippines. The presence of so much Sawankalok in these island has another significance which I shall presently relate.

The Chinese also shipped considerable quantities of their export wares to Japan during the Sung and Ming periods. There was an especially strong demand for these wares under the Ashikaga (足利) Shoguns (1339-1574) because of the development of *cha-no-yu* (茶之湯), the tea ceremony, as an aesthetic pursuit and social refinement among the warrior class. The tea ceremony requires the use of various pottery and metal utensils all of which must meet the rigid aesthetic standards inherent in the ceremony itself. It was among some of the export wares of China that the *cha jin* (茶人), or tea masters, found the types of vessels best suited to their exacting taste. The Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimasa (義政) (1414-1475) was a devotee par excellence of the tea ceremony, which in turn meant that he was also a connoisseur of fine ceramics.

Under the Ashikaga Shoguns formal diplomatic and trade relations were re-established with the Ming Court, the Japanese shoguns in effect making their country tributary to China in order to take fullest advantage of the trade. On the Japanese side this diplomatic-commercial intercourse was placed largely in the hands of the Zen monks of the Tenryūji (天龍寺), a temple near Kyōto. Its ships which sailed to Ningpo and other Chinese ports bearing envoys and merchandise in the guise of tribute goods and returning with the silks, ceramics and other prized products of China were thus known as the *Tenryūji-bune* (天龍寺船) and represent a rather unusual example of formal commercial activity on the part of the Buddhist clergy. Several of the ceremonial utensils prized by Yoshimasa were acquired through these tribute-bearing trade missions. One of the pieces is the exquisite little *cha-ire* (茶入), or tea caddy, to which Yoshimasa was moved to give the poetic name of *Hatsuhana*, (初花), Early Spring Flower. This famous piece

became a shogunal heirloom and has remained a treasured possession of the Tokugawa family to the present day. Another unique piece obtained by Yoshimasa through the trade of the *Tenryūji-bune* was a Sung celadon censer which became known to history as the *Chidori Kōro* (千鳥香爐), the Plover Censer. The supernal vessel was said to have been given this name because when incense was burned in it birds were reputed to have burst into song with delight at the paradisaical fragrance. Another and perhaps more plausible explanation of the name lies in the fact that the shape of the censer resembles in a way the *chidori*, or plover. Like the magical jar of the Sultan of Brunei, the *Chidori Kōro* was also said to have had the power to warn its owner with a cry when danger was at hand.

In addition to the tribute and trade missions of the *Tenryūji-bune*, it is also likely that the *wakō*, the Japanese pirates who ravaged the coasts of China and even Annam from the 14th to the 16th centuries, brought back to Japan in their *Bahan-sen* (八幡船) quantities of Chinese wares, since the growing popularity of the tea ceremony created such a lucrative demand for fine ceramics.

It is possible, therefore, that some Sawankalok pieces may have been introduced into Japan through both the Ashikaga tribute missions of the *Tenryūji-bune* and the more unconventional trading activities of the *wakō*. Both Giga Tetsuji and Miki Sakae (三木榮), the two foremost Japanese authorities on Sawankalok, are of the view that it was the *wakō* who first brought this ware to Japan during the Ashikaga period. If so, as we shall presently see, they most likely obtained the ware in Annam rather than in China. Miki cites one piece of Sawankalok ware in Japan which can be dated, at least to its Japanese ownership, as far back as the 16th century by its *hata-gaki* (貼書), that is, the inscription on the lid of the box in which the piece was kept, which was written as a certification by the famous *chōjin* Sen Rikyō (千利休) (1521-1591). In all probability, however, the Japanese at this date regarded Sawankalok as some form of Chinese or Annamese ware.

## Japanese Pottery Trade with the Philippines

It is when we turn to early Japanese contacts with the Philippines that we begin to find more positive evidence of the introduction of Sawankalok pottery into Japan. During the 16th century and possibly even earlier Japanese trading vessels were regularly visiting Luzon. When the Spanish expedition under Miguel Legaspi arrived in the Philippines in 1565 it was found that the Japanese had been coming every year to the islands to trade, obtaining principally pottery and silk. Antonio de Morga in his *Successos de las Islas Pilipinas*, published in Mexico in 1609, gives a fairly full description of this trade and with respect to Japanese purchases of pottery makes this interesting and significant comment :

In this island of Luzon... very ancient clay vessels of a dark brown color and of a sorry appearance are found by the natives, some of medium size and others smaller, marked with characters and stamps. They are unable to say when or where they obtain them; but they are no longer to be acquired nor are they manufactured in the islands. The Japanese prize them highly, for they have found that the root of a herb which they call Tseha and which when drunk hot is considered as a great delicacy and of medicinal efficacy by the kings and lords of Japan cannot be effectively preserved except in those vessels, which are so highly esteemed all over Japan that they form the most costly ornaments of their showrooms and cabinets. Indeed, so highly do they value them that they overlay them externally with fine gold embossed with great skill and enclose them in cases of brocade, and some of these vessels are valued at and fetch 2,000 to 11,000 reales. The natives of these islands sell them to the Japanese at very high rates and take much pains in the search for them on account of the eagerness with which they have been sought for.

The picturesque reference to the use of characters and stamps could point to Chinese wares, for I know of no instances where Sawankalok pottery was labelled with calligraphic markings

or *nien hao* (年號) to show the date of manufacture. The writer was correct, however, in his statement concerning the high value the Japanese placed upon ceramics associated with the use of tea, and how treasured tea caddies and cannisters were always kept enclosed in thick brocade coverings, a practice which still prevails in Japan. I have never heard of such utensils being overlaid with gold, however, for this would cover up just what the Japanese most highly prized, namely, the glaze. The writer's reference to the Japanese fondness for tea and their belief that it could be kept properly only in these jars is not quite so fanciful as it may at first appear. The so-called Luzon ware were principally jars and vessels of such sizes and shapes that they were most appropriate as containers for storing tea. I am not inclined to believe, however, that the Japanese attached any magical powers to these vessels as enabling them to preserve the flavor, but were attracted to them largely from artistic considerations and their supposed antiquity. In general, the Japanese have always had a strange relish for the exotic, especially when some foreign article comes close to meeting the *shibui* character of their own restrained tastes. The celadons and other monochromes of China and the subdued shades and designs of Sawankalok were fully in keeping with Japanese aesthetic standards. Moreover, in Japan as elsewhere in the East, tea has been traditionally associated with ceramics, and the use of Luzon wares for this purpose represented neither an innovation nor anything unusual.

We have another even more significant contemporary record of Japanese trade in the so-called Luzon wares, which happily sheds some direct light on the fact that Sawankalok vessels made on the banks of the Yom River in far off north-central Siam were most likely imported into Japan through this round-about course. In 1597 Francesco Carletti, the intrepid Florentine merchant and traveller, made a voyage from Manila to Nagasaki. He travelled on one of the Japanese ships engaged in the Luzon trade, which he described in his famous *Discourse* as having sails made of matting supported by poles at regular intervals, which could be folded up like a fan. The ship left Manila in May and arrived in Nagasaki the following month. As Carletti relates:



Next morning before we landed, the police officials, acting under orders of the Governor of the place, came on board to search among all the sailors, merchants and passengers for certain earthenware vessels, which are commonly imported from the Philippines and elsewhere in these parts, and which, by the laws of the King of Japan, everyone is obliged on pain of death to declare, because the King wishes to buy them all for himself.

This curious reference to the confiscation of pottery vessels imported from the Philippines because the "king" wished to buy all such articles himself was not entirely a figment of this traveller's imagination. While he was at Nagasaki, Carletti no doubt heard enough about the celebrated case of a shipment of Luzon jars to give him this distorted version of the true story.

### The Case of the Luzon Jars

There was a famous merchant of the old port of Sakai (堺) near Ōsaka who engaged so extensively and profitably in trade with the Ryūkyū Islands and Luzon that he became known as *Ruson Sukezaemon* (呂宋助左衛門), that is, Luzon Sukezaemon. In the third year of the Bunroku (文禄) era (1594), only three years before Carletti's arrival at Nagasaki, one of his ships had returned to Sakai after a successful voyage to Luzon bringing with its cargo no less than fifty Luzon jars of a superior type which the Japanese *chajin* called *matsubo* (真壺). Of all the categories of *chatsubo* (茶壺), or tea jars, those from Luzon, known as *Ruson-tsubo* (呂宋壺), were the most highly prized, and of these the so-called *matsubo* type were regarded as the last word in elegance. Hence, the arrival in Japan in one shipment of no less than fifty of these treasured vessels was sufficient to set the *chajin* and connoisseurs and collectors of tea ceremony utensils agog.

The various accounts of this episode which appear in such historical chronicles as the *Taikō-ki* (太閤記) and the *Todai-ki* (當代記) differ somewhat in details, but in essence the following incident occurred. The prized jars excited such interest that the *Daikan* (代官), or Governor, of Sakai directed that they be taken to

Ōsaka where they were placed on display in one of the great rooms of the Castle in order to be appraised and classified by Sensō-no-Eki (千宗易), a famous tea master. The jars were then offered to the various shogunal officials, but apparently some unseemly disagreement arose over the division of the spoils. In any event, Sukezaemon, being a mere merchant and therefore ranking lowest in the social order, was compelled to part with his treasures. The matter finally came to the attention of Hideyoshi (秀吉), the *de facto* ruler of the country, who subsequently compelled the various shogunal officials to give up the jars, although he paid them double the market price for doing so. Hideyoshi then returned the prized vessels to Sukezaemon, and directed that henceforth there should be no commerce in such articles which were to be regarded as national treasures. Sukezaemon later made a fortune in the Luzon trade, as a result of which he took to living in such an ostentatious manner as to incur the displeasure of Hideyoshi who summarily confiscated all his wealth and property. Carletti's experience on arriving at Nagasaki could well have been a result of the foregoing incident. One of these Luzon jars was preserved among the treasures of the Daianji (大安寺), a temple in Sakai. I have only seen a photograph of the famous piece which looks strikingly like a Sawankalok water jar.

Later in his *Discourse* Carletti notes that "nowadays one rarely meets specimens [of this Luzon ware] which are less than several centuries old having been brought from the kingdom of Cambodia, from that of Siam or that of Cochin-China, from the Philippines or other islands in these seas." Elsewhere Carletti further indicates that at the time he was in Japan (1597) the Japanese had been trading regularly with Siam, Pattani, Malacca and other southern countries. From this it might appear that the Japanese had been importing pottery directly from Siam which, however, does not seem likely. Nevertheless, it is apparent from his account that the Siamese origin of some of these wares was known to the Japanese at this early date, which may have an important bearing on the origin of the Japanese term Sonkoroku to describe certain types of foreign pottery. Parenthetically, it may be added that Carletti departed from Nagasaki in March 1598 aboard a Japanese ship bound for Cochin-China, which put him ashore at the Portuguese settlement of Macao.

## Siamese Pottery in Japan

While the Japanese generally called the ceramic wares which came from the Philippines *Ruson-tsubo* or by the more general term *Ruson-yaki* (呂宋焼), having the meaning of Luzon ware, at some point the word *Sonkoroku* came into use. Although both Giga and Miki have suggested that the *wakō* first imported Sawankalok wares, it is doubtful if they obtained them in China, for it would have been like carrying coals to Newcastle had the Siamese shipped any of their wares to this great source of pottery and porcelain. Since the *wakō* never extended their piratical activities to the Philippines, we must conclude that they obtained such Siamese wares in Annam, assuming it was actually the *wakō* who pioneered their importation into Japan. Little if any Sawankalok ware has been found in Annam, however. These considerations reinforce the conclusion that Japan's principal if not only source of Sawankalok pottery was the Philippines, a view which is strongly supported by Beyer's discoveries of so much of this ware in the islands. It is also possible, however, that some Sawankalok may have reached Japan by way of the Ryūkyū Islands, although I have never heard that any of this ware has ever been found there.

In any event, by the close of the 16th century wares known to the Japanese as *Sonkoroku* became popular in Japan among devotees of the tea ceremony. After the Korean expeditions of Hideyoshi in the 1590's many Korean potters were brought to Japan and settled on the island of Kyūshū by the feudal lords who had accompanied Hideyoshi to the peninsula. Because *Sonkoroku* ware was so popular and presumably difficult to obtain, the Korean potters were soon called upon to imitate it. Hence, we find a type of Kyūshū ware which came to be called *Satsuma-Sonkoroku* (薩摩宋胡鉢) which was made by Korean potters under the patronage of Shimazu Yoshihiro (島津義弘), the Lord of Satsuma, who was a great devotee of the tea ceremony and an avid fancier of fine tea utensils. About a century later Kiyomizu Rokubei (清水六兵衛), one of a famous line of Kyōto potters, produced a ware which was known as *Sonkoroku-utsushi* (宋胡鉢寫), that is, imitation

Sonkoroku. It is also of interest that the Japanese taste for Sonkoroku or its imitations is believed to have exercised some influence on the development of such noted Japanese potteries as the Shino (志野), Karatsu (唐津) and Mishima (三島) wares.

We are by no means certain, however, just what the Japanese at this time meant when they used the term Sonkoroku. For example, as Giga has shown, some Chinese and Annamese wares were also called Sonkoroku. In the 16th and 17th centuries the Japanese did not believe that any *seiji* (青磁), that is, celadon, pieces were ever to be found among Sonkoroku, and any wares of this kind which were not unmistakably of Chinese origin were attributed to Annam and were hence known as *Annan seiji* (安南青磁), or Annam celadon. Since celadon-like wares were so common among the products of the Sawankalok kilns, it is possible that many of the wares to which the Japanese applied the name Sonkoroku at this time were of another origin: Chinese, Korean or possibly pieces of the yellowish-grey Sukhothai, the Khmer wares of Cambodia, or some of the potteries of Tongking.

As early as the Kanei (寛永) era (1624-1643) there was published, as noted above, a famous Japanese pottery manual called the *Te Kagami* in which Sonkoroku was unfortunately described primarily in terms of what the Japanese considered to be the three principal shapes in which this ware was believed to be found. These were the *shioge* (監筭), a small globular vessel with a short neck and a rather narrow mouth, the term literally meaning a salt pot; the *asagao* (朝顔), or morning glory type, a term generally used to describe embrasnred-shaped tea cups; and the *suginari* (杉形), or cylindrical-shaped tea cup. This handbook, however, describes Sonkoroku as a *sometsuke-gosu* (染付呉須) type of pottery, that is, underglaze blue and white, a type which, of course, is never found among Sawankalok. The manual adds, however, that it differs from the *sometsuke-gosu* wares found in Annam. The author of the *Te Kagami* was undoubtedly describing some Chinese provincial ware under the name of Sonkoroku, and the so-called *Annan-gosu* (安南呉須) was most likely one of the products of the South China kilns.

the *Te Kagami* warned prospective collectors that and poorly fired pieces of Sonkoroku often appeared in. While this applied to Sawankalok wares it was also of many of the wares of the Chinese provincial kilns.

Japanese pottery experts even until modern times held that Sonkoroku was made in Luzon, although a few, like the late Captain F. Brinkley, were under the erroneous belief that it was produced in Arabia or some other Near Eastern country. Among most of the *chajin*, however, any ware resembling Sonkoroku was invariably called *Annan seiji*, much of which was undoubtedly Sawankalok. The Philippine origin of Sonkoroku was the most persistent and common explanation.

Yachi Baike (田内梅軒) published a pottery manual, *Tōki Kō* (陶器考), in the 2nd year of the Ansei (安政) era (1849) in which he described the ware called *Ido-yaki* (井戸焼) made in Japan in imitation of the famous Ido tea cups. He noted, however, that there was also a ware like *Ido-yaki* which was believed to come from Southeast Asia and which was called among some Japanese experts as *Ao Ido* (青井戸), that is, blue-green Ido. This was undoubtedly another reference to as well as the name for Sawankalok. While Tanchi also used the term *Sonkoroku*, he confined it exclusively to the so-called *Ruson-kōroku* wares believed to have been made in the Philippines. Tanchi, like many others, was convinced that the term *Sonkoroku* was merely a corruption of *Ruson-kōroku* taking the *ku* (in this case with a long "ō") to mean a kind of Sonkoroku believed to have been made in Luzon. Nothing has been done, however, to support this theory.

The *Tōkoku* Tanchi used the Japanese *kana* (假名) to write the word *kōroku*. In his curious little monograph, *Sawankalok Kiln in Siam*, privately printed in English in Tōkyō, Mitani Sakae used two peculiar ideographs\* for the word

\* In the understandable absence of types for these two unusual ideographs (which were probably "invented" by Mitani Ryōboku or another tea master), it has been necessary to present them here on a specially engraved wooden block.

*kōroku*. Miki claims that this word was a term meaning ceramic ware, and cites the phrase *Tobutsu* (唐物) *kōroku* used by the tea master Mitani Ryōboku (三谷良朴), better known as Mitani Sōchin (三谷宗鎮), meaning Chinese porcelain, to describe a vase made in Foochow. If the word *kōroku* thus has the meaning of ceramic ware, its modified use without the long "ō" in the term *Sonkoroku* might well refer to Sung pottery, for the ideography *son* (宋) is, of course, the same Chinese character used for the Sung dynasty. I have been unable, however, to identify either the term *koroku* or *kōroku* in any Japanese dictionary or reference work on pottery. Likewise, I have been unable to identify the two peculiar characters Miki has used for this term.

### Sawankalok Pottery and the Japanese Tea Ceremony

The Japanese were greatly attracted to the rustic, simple beauty of Sawankalok pottery. Even some of the damaged pieces, especially those which had been bent slightly out of shape while being fired, had a peculiar charm in their irregularity which appealed to a people whose aesthetic ideals do not necessarily demand a rigid adherence to symmetry in line or form. There is a type of Sawankalok bottle or vase of somewhat globular shape but gradually narrowing toward the top and terminating in a very narrow mouth. The Japanese called this form the *tokkurinote* (德利手) because of this vessel's resemblance to a *tokkuri* or *chōshi*, the bottle used for serving rice wine. Many of these which reached Japan had the necks broken. The vessels were then cut through at the globular mid-section to make tea bowls, a form which was known among the *chajin* as *tokkuri-kiri* (德利切), that is, cut *tokkuri*.

Virtually all of the Sawankalok ware which reached Japan found its way into the hands of devotees of the tea ceremony among whom it was regarded almost as highly as the famous Temmoku (天目) wares of China not only for its subdued elegance but also for its exotic character. This latter consideration goes far I believe,



to account for the fine collections of Sawankalok which were made in Japan in the 16th and 17th centuries. From the earliest periods of their history the Japanese have been attracted to the strange and often beautiful things which have reached their shores. Sometimes this mania for the exotic has reached unusual if not disturbing proportions, and to some degree this was true during the period from the latter half of the 16th until almost the end of the 17th century, when the Japanese became enamoured of things foreign from European firearms, clocks and velvet cloth to Siamese pottery, lacquerware and game cocks.

### Other Siamese Influences in Japan

We have noted the rôle of Sawankalok pottery in the Japanese tea ceremony and how to some extent it influenced the development of several Japanese wares. To take a few other examples of curious Siamese influences in Japan, in the 17th century the Japanese began to manufacture a type of lacquer which was called *kimma-nuri* (蒟醬塗), or *kimma* lacquer. Strange as it may seem, this was a copy of a kind of a Chiengmai ware which the Japanese had apparently discovered through their contacts with Ayuthia and greatly admired. The word *kimma* is believed to be a Japanese corruption of the Siamese term *kin mak*, betel-chewing, for the Siamese ware which attracted the attention of the Japanese were the lacquer vessels used to hold betel-chewing ingredients. Again, during the 17th century Siamese textile designs exercised a peculiar appeal to the Japanese. The Siamese cotton prints which reached Japan were most likely made in India from Siamese patterns, just as Bencharong pottery, a kind of *wu ts'ai* (五彩), or ware in five colors, was made in China from Thai designs. During the latter half of the 17th century Siamese cotton prints became so popular in Japan that one cloth dealer styled himself Shamuro-ya (暹羅屋), that is, Siam House. The merchant of Omi (近江) who established this shop had traded with Siam and was said to have introduced this style of cotton prints into Japan during the Genwa (元和) era (1615-1623). He was known as Shamu-ya Kambei (暹羅屋勘兵衛), that is,



Kambei of the Siam House. The goods he produced were called *Shamu-sarasa* (暹羅更紗) or *Shamu-some* (暹羅染), namely, cotton prints with typical Siamese patterns.

To take a few more examples of such Siamese influences, to this day a game cock in Japan is called a *shamo* (軍雞), a corruption of *Shamu-dori* (暹羅鳥), meaning "Siamese bird". The ideographs for the word *shamo* should properly be read *gunkei*. They were selected because they literally mean "fighting chicken", but the arbitrary pronunciation used clearly betrays the Siamese origin of the term. Presumably, this long-legged brown and red fighting rooster was first brought to Japan from Siam or some other part of Southeast Asia. During the Temmei (天明) period (1781-1788) a dance known as the *Shamu-odori* (暹羅踊) became popular among the *chōnin* (町人), or townsmen class, in Japan and was based upon one of the classical Siamese dances. One of the principal Japanese imports from Siam in the 17th century were deerskins which the Japanese used for making leather socks called *kawatabi* (皮足袋). This material was known as *Shamu-guwa* (暹羅革), or Siamese leather. Among the *Jōruri* (浄留璃), or puppet players, a seedy looking person was known as a *Shamu Tarō* (太郎). Whether in this case the word *shamu*, which was written in the *kana* syllabary, referred to Siam is not clear, but the word strongly suggests this association and may have originated from the strange if not seedy appearance of some of those Japanese traders and adventurers who returned to Japan from Ayuthia.

During the Edo period there was an official at Nagasaki who held the title of *Shamu Tsūshi* (暹羅通詞). He was the Siamese interpreter of the Shogunate and dealt with the Siamese ships which occasionally arrived at this port, which were, of course, called *Shamuro-bune* (暹羅船), Siam ships. It is possible, therefore, that some of the foregoing terms were coined by these Siamese interpreters and through them found their way into the Japanese vocabulary. Several plants also came to have the prefix *Shamu* or *Shamuro* attached to them. For example, the *tōjisa* (唐渦巨), or *Beta vulgaris*, was frequently called the *Shamuro daikon* (暹羅大根), or Siamese radish.

I shall cite but one more example of a Japanese term of Siamese origin because of its rather unique and picturesque character. Soon after the Portuguese arrived in Japan in the middle of the 16th century the Japanese adopted the newly-acquired European custom of smoking tobacco. At first the Japanese used rather heavy metal pipes, two feet or more in length, but soon began to search for a lighter, more suitable material for the stem. Bamboo was, of course, the most logical choice, but the kind of bamboo available in Japan which had sufficient space between the nodes was much too large in diameter to make the long pipe stems which were in vogue during the 17th century until the short-stem pipes became popular in the Genroku (元禄) era (1688-1703). What was required was a thin, reed-like bamboo having a long space between the nodes. The Japanese apparently found such a type of bamboo in Siam, which came either from the North or the Northeast and which they accordingly called *Rao-dake* (羅越竹), or Lao bamboo. After the introduction of this material into Japan, the phrase *Rao-dake* became the standard term for the bamboo stem of the Japanese *kiseru* (煙管), or pipe; and even to this day a pipe with such a stem is known as a *Rao kiseru*, while the artisan who cleans and repairs pipes is called a *Rao-ya* (羅越屋).

### Sonkoroku a Japanese Corruption of Sawankalok

In view of these odd by-products of Siamese-Japanese relations in the 16th and 17th centuries, it would appear that the Japanese term Sonkoroku or Sunkoroku (寸古録) as it is occasionally written was a corruption of some Siamese word, most likely being the Japanese rendition of Sawankalok. This would imply, of course, that the Japanese were to some extent aware, as Carletti has suggested, that the pottery to which this term was applied came from Siam. If we only knew something more definite about the origin of the term Sonkoroku and its early usage in Japan, for, as we have seen, there is no substantial evidence to show that the Japanese ever imported Sawankalok pottery directly from Siam.

From all I have been able to ascertain the Siamese have always called this pottery after the name of the place at which it

was made—Sawankalok. It was also customary, however, for foreign traders dealing in a particular commodity to refer to it by the name of the port or place at which it was obtained, regardless of where the article was actually manufactured. Examples of this practice are numerous and we have already seen how the Arab, Indian and European traders attached the name Martaban to water jars of Siamese and Chinese provenance, and how in Borneo such water vessels were often called Siam jars although most of them probably came from China. Even today we have a predilection for calling large water vessels Shanghai jars regardless of where they were produced. As I have suggested earlier, it is quite possible that it was the Chinese potters or Chinese traders at Sawankalok who promoted the export of these wares. If so, they would most likely have described this pottery after the name of the place where it was made. It may be, therefore, that the Japanese derived the name Sonkoroku or Sunkoroku from the Chinese. In writing the name Sawankalok the Chinese have traditionally used the following three ideographs 宋胡洛 which in Mandarin are pronounced *Sung Chiao Lo*. This is, of course, a far cry from the original Thai name. In the Swatow dialect, however, the three ideographs are pronounced *Sung Ka Lok* which comes much closer to Sawankalok. The Japanese pronunciation of these three Chinese characters would be *Son* (or *Sun*) *Kyū* (or *Kō*) *Raku*. Like the Chinese, however, the Japanese have been most adept in using Chinese ideographs to give a phonetic rendition of foreign words, and have had their own preferences in the selection of ideographs for their sound distinct from those used by the Chinese, either for phonetic or even aesthetic reasons. Consequently, it would have been a simple matter for the Japanese to select a different set of characters which to them would better represent the strange sound of the place where the pottery was supposed to have been produced. Thus Sonkoroku written with the three ideographs 宋胡錄 may have been from the Japanese standpoint a more preferable way of writing this name which probably reached them in a form somewhat similar to the Swatow dialect reading of *Sung Ka Lok*.

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